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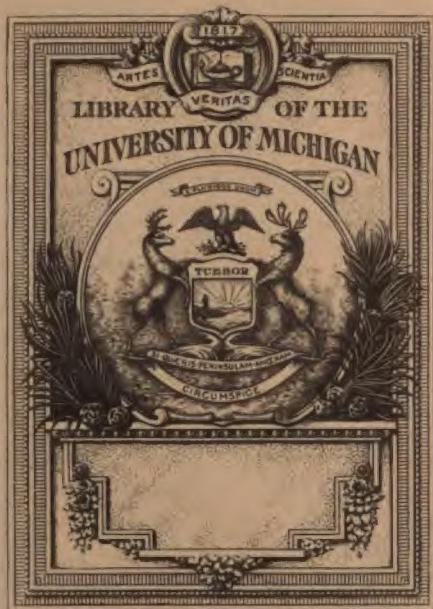
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NOTES INTRODUCTORY
TO THE STUDY OF THE
CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS



NOTES INTRODUCTORY
TO THE STUDY OF THE
CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS
A COURSE OF LECTURES

BY

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IN DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

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NOTE.

THIS book contains the notes made by Dr Hort for a course of Lectures which he delivered in Cambridge as Hulsean Professor in the October Term, 1884. They were written out almost in full, and are printed substantially as they stand. It is clear from the 'Preface,' which was found in the same box with the Lecture Notes, that Dr Hort had intended to publish them. They form a natural supplement to the volume of Lectures on Judaistic Christianity printed in 1894.

The subject was one which clearly had a strong attraction for him as one of the earliest attempts to grapple seriously with 'some of the most indestructible problems' of life and thought, from a point of view substantially, however imperfectly, Christian. His copies both of the 'Recognitions' and of the 'Homilies' bear the marks of careful and repeated study, the fruits of which are only indirectly represented in these Notes. Among other things he had compiled a full 'Index Verborum' for the 'Recognitions,' which it has not seemed worth while to

print in this volume, but which will gladly be put at the service of any editor of the text of the *Recognitions*.

A Comparative Analysis of Hom. i.—iii. and Rec. i.—iii., drawn up apparently to test the theory of an original volume of 'Preachings of Peter,' has been printed as an Appendix.

Since Dr Hort wrote¹, a discovery made by Prof. Armitage Robinson has seriously affected the bearing of the most important item in the early evidence. The effect of the discovery is decidedly to strengthen the main point of Dr Hort's conclusion, viz. the late date which he assigns for the origin of this literature. It has, however, of course affected the validity of a certain number of subsidiary deductions. I have thought it best to call attention by the use of square brackets to words and sentences which there is no doubt that Dr Hort would himself have corrected in consequence of this discovery. I am responsible for the Table of Contents and the Marginal Analyses.

In the revision of proofs and the verification of references I have to acknowledge the kind help of the Rev. J. M. Schulhof, M.A.

J. O. F. MURRAY.

¹ See note on p. 25.

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PREFACE.

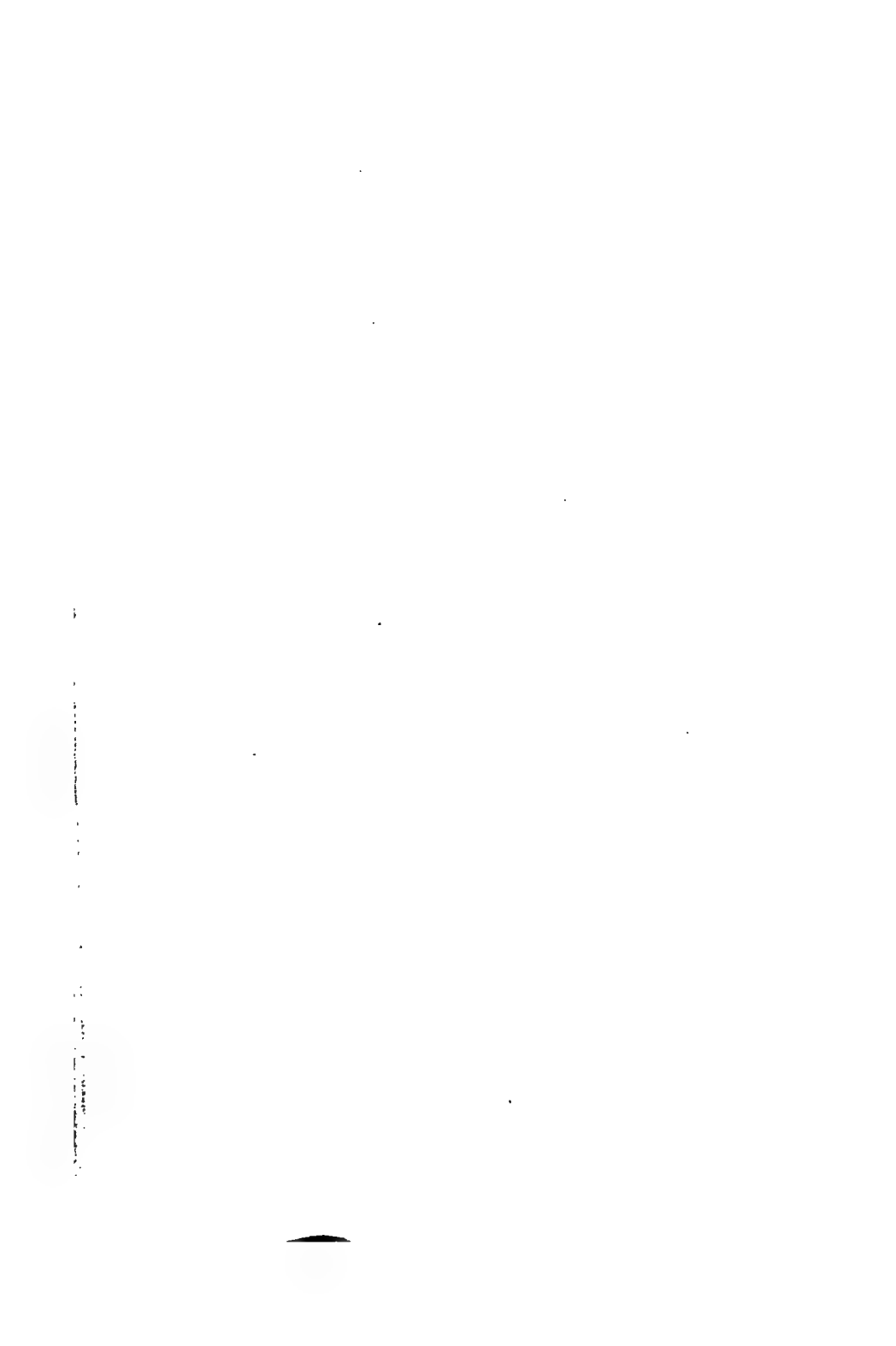
THE following Notes are a contribution towards the solution of some of the questions connected with the writings usually known as the Clementine literature. Seventy years ago a new spirit was breathed into the study of the inner life of Christian antiquity by Neander's historical writings. The peculiar interest of the Clementine literature could not escape the notice of one who followed with such warm and careful sympathy even the most seemingly eccentric movements of religious thought, and he made it the subject of an appendix to his essay on the principal "Gnostic" systems. From that time the Clementine literature has received a large measure of attention, and has even been taken by one great school of criticism as the principal key to the true history of the apostolic age. Yet the right understanding of it must in great measure depend on a knowledge of its own historical position, and this

cannot be said to have been as yet securely ascertained.

It is hardly necessary to say that the two chief extant Clementine writings, differing considerably in some respects in doctrine, are both evidently the outcome of a peculiar speculative type of Judaistic Christianity, for which the most characteristic name of Christ was "the true Prophet." The greater part of the formal teaching of both is thrown into the shape of discourses and disputations of St Peter, chiefly against Simon Magus, held in various towns of the Syrian sea-coast, especially Cæsarea, Tripolis, and Laodicea. The framework of both is a narrative purporting to be written by Clement (of Rome) to St James the Lord's brother, describing at the beginning his own conversion and the circumstances of his first acquaintance with St Peter, and then a long succession of incidents accompanying St Peter's discourses and disputations, leading up to a romantic recognition of Clement's father, mother, and two brothers, from whom he had been separated since childhood. The problems discussed under this fictitious guise are with rare exceptions fundamental problems for every age; and, whatever may be thought of the positions maintained, the discussions are hardly ever feeble or trivial. Regarded simply as mirroring the past, few, if any, remains of Christian

antiquity present us with so vivid a picture of the working of men's minds under the influence of the new heaven which had entered into the world.

The scope of these Notes is a limited one. They deal only with the origin and history of the Clementine literature, not with its contents, except as bearing on its origin and history. They are mainly the result of an attempt to ascertain first the relation of the extant to the whole Clementine literature, so far as the fragmentary notices of lost writings belonging to it allow, and then the approximate date to be assigned to the beginning of the literature, and the antecedents out of which it may be supposed to have arisen. It has been my aim to keep the examination of ancient evidence as little encumbered as possible with discussions of the views of modern critics. It is hardly necessary to say that on various points my direct or indirect obligations to predecessors are large; but in most cases it would be difficult or impossible to point out their limits. For some of these obligations my acknowledgements are due to writers whose general conclusions I am least able to reconcile with the evidence, such as Hilgenfeld and Lipsius.



CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS.

THE subject chosen for this term's lectures is one of much and varied interest, having points of contact with several important regions of early Christian history, external and doctrinal. It cannot however be called an easy subject. Much may be learned even by reading the book once through, the impressions which it leaves behind being such as no modern account of it can possibly convey at second hand. But the various questions which it suggests both need and repay careful study. *Subject of the Course.*

Here, as in all cases, it is impossible for lectures to take the place of personal reading and investigation; and lectures will really be profitable in proportion as they succeed in guiding and helping work at home, not in replacing it.

You are doubtless aware that the Clementine Recognitions are not the only extant representatives of the peculiar literature to which they belong. We possess likewise what are conventionally called the *Relation to the 'Homilies.'*

Clementine Homilies. Each of these works, throughout the greater part of its contents, supplies important illustration of the other work, and the questions respecting their relation to each other are closely connected with all the larger questions respecting each one. Here and there, as for instance at the beginning, their texts are for the most part coincident, so that *either* one must in such portions be derived from the other, *or* both must have a common origin. Widely as they differ in doctrine, both of them must be the outcome of a peculiar Judaizing type of Christianity, for which the most characteristic name of our Lord was "the true Prophet." The substance of both consists in discourses and disputations of St Peter, chiefly against Simon Magus, held in various towns of the Syrian sea-coast, but especially Cæsarea, Tripolis, and Laodicea. The framework of both is a narrative written by Clement to St James the Lord's Brother, describing first his own conversion and how he became acquainted with St Peter, and then the incidents accompanying St Peter's discourses and disputations, leading up to a romantic recognition of Clement's father, mother, and two brothers, from whom he had been separated since childhood. While therefore the Recognitions alone will be the direct subject of the lectures, and an examination of their contents will, I hope, occupy the latter part of the course, I shall have to refer perpetually to the Homilies, and should strongly advise every one to

obtain a copy of them, and to read them carefully through, if possible in Greek, but if not then in English.

Much time may be spent on this literature without being wasted. The problems discussed in it are for the most part fundamental problems for every age: and, whatever may be thought of the positions maintained, the discussions are rarely feeble or trivial. As a piece of history, few if any works of Christian antiquity present us with so vivid a picture of the working of men's minds under the influence of the new leaven which had come into the world. Moreover the views taken of the origin and growth of this literature have been closely connected with the views taken of several leading books of the New Testament and of the forms taken by the Christian faith in its earliest days. The animosity against St Paul displayed in some parts of the Clementine writings has been assumed, in conjunction with St Paul's own narrative of his rebuke to St Peter at Antioch in Gal. ii., to be a trustworthy and sufficient key to the true history of the apostolic age and apostolic books. And again, one portion of the Homilies, in which St Paul is struck at through Simon Magus, has been taken as significant evidence that originally the Clementine Simon was nothing but St Paul under a mask, and that in fact Simon Magus never existed. When such startling theories as these are maintained by honest and intelligent men, it is evident that the

*Import-
ance of the
Clementine
Literature.*

literary and historical questions suggested by the Recognitions and Homilies have much more than an antiquarian interest.

*List of
extant por-
tions.*

Before going further it will be well to state exactly what portions of the apocryphal Clementine literature are still extant.

*Documents
appended
to the
Homilies.*

They are the 'Homilies' in Greek, and the 'Recognitions' in the Latin translation made by Rufinus probably not long after A.D. 400. Besides the two great primary works there are some accompaniments, small in bulk but of the greatest importance for critical purposes, a letter purporting to be written by St Peter to St James, followed by a *Διαμαρτυρία* or *Adjuration* purporting to come from St James; and likewise a longer letter purporting to be written by Clement to St James. These three documents are all extant in Greek. They are prefixed to the Homilies in the extant MSS. and in all the editions. The alleged letter of Clement is also extant in Latin in a translation made by Rufinus some time before his translation of the Recognitions.

*The Epi-
tome.*

Quite subordinate in character and importance are what are called the Clementine Epitomes, more correctly two recensions of one Epitome. It consists of three or four lines of introduction taken from the alleged Epistle of Clement, followed by a carefully trimmed and expurgated condensation of the Homilies, concluding with a legendary Martyrdom of

Clement found elsewhere, and an if possible still more legendary narrative by one Ephraim respecting a miracle said to have been wrought by Clement.

The literary history of the editions is too in-^{*Editions*}teresting to be passed over altogether: but, for the^{*for use of*}
^{*students.*} sake of clearness, I will first mention the books most necessary for actual use.

Of the Recognitions the most convenient edition is Gersdorf's, in 264 small octavo pages, published at Leipzig in 1838. It has the advantages of cheapness (5/- originally: now out of print, but easily picked up for this or a less sum), portability, and the best text as yet procured, not at all really trustworthy, but more so than any other in print. Its disadvantages are that it has no notes, no indices, and only a meagre preface. Also the number of the books is not given for each page or pair of pages, and so reference is impeded, but the numbers can be supplied in pencil. Of the other available editions I will speak just now.

For the Clementine Homilies the most generally useful edition is Dressel's, published at Göttingen in 1853, price 7/-. This was the first complete edition, the last Homily and a half having been previously unpublished. It has a Latin version, and a useful though scanty Index of Greek words. In 1865 Lagarde, a more competent editor, published at Leipzig another edition, price 8/-. The text is a considerable improvement on Dressel's, there is a very

fair Index Locorum, and the short Preface contains much interesting matter of various kinds: but these advantages are on the whole outweighed by the want of a Latin version and of an Index Græcitat¹, as also by the crowded and rather obscure printing.

The Epitome, in both forms, has been likewise edited by Dressel, and is sold for a few shillings; and appended to it are some notes of Wieseler's on the Homilies, chiefly but not exclusively textual. Both Epitome and notes may however be well dispensed with by anyone who is directly occupied with the Recognitions only.

Besides these separate and convenient editions I ought to mention one comprehensive edition, that in Migne's Græco-Latin series, Volumes 1 and 2. The cost is about 30/-. The Recognitions come at the end of Volume 1, the Homilies and Epitome at the beginning of Volume 2. With the original Greek of the alleged Epistle of Clement to St Peter is printed Rufinus's Latin version, perversely omitted in all other recent editions. Against the large cost of this edition we must set a large mass of additional matter, for Migne includes everything which has been ever attributed to Clement of Rome, including the Apostolic Constitutions, and various prefaces and dissertations by the older editors and critics. He also reprints

¹ A good Index to the Homilies has since been published by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund (Macmillan & Co. Price 5s.). The Preface is signed by the Initials W. C.

Cotelier's notes, which are practically the only notes we have on the Recognitions, and which are sometimes useful, though they pass over multitudes of passages which greatly need explanation or illustration. Finally, he includes some other patristic writings, and among them the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas, this last however without the continuous Greek text brought to light in later years. Some therefore may perhaps prefer Migne's edition in spite of its ungainly form. His text of the Homilies is reprinted from Dressel, his text of the Recognitions from Gersdorf.

English translations of both works are readily accessible in the Ante-Nicene Christian Library due to the enterprise of Messrs Clark of Edinburgh. The Recognitions form part of Volume III (which includes also Tatian and Theophilus), the Homilies of Volume XVII, in which they are followed by the Apostolic Constitutions.

Books or articles illustrative of either Recognitions or Homilies will not easily be found by those who cannot read German. It is only within the last half century, or a little more, that this literature has been studied with any real intelligence or perception of its meaning, and the discussions respecting it have been almost confined to Germany. The article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, by Dr Salmon, of Dublin, is, like all his articles, independent, accurate, and *solid*, as far as it goes. It is confined, however,

within rather narrow limits. The short but interesting sketch of Doctrine in Neander's *Church History*, i. 487 ff., E. Tr., takes account of the Homilies only, ignoring the Recognitions. A few scattered remarks in his edition of the Epistle to the Galatians and in his edition of the genuine Epistle of Clement are all that Dr Lightfoot has published on the subject¹. I will not take up time now with speaking of the more important German books, most of which will unavoidably have to be mentioned presently in other connexions. The select list given at the end of Dr Salmon's article could hardly be improved on up to its own date, and not much of importance has been published since.

*List of
Writings
called
Clement's.*

An almost indispensable prelude to the literary history of the Clementine literature is a brief enumeration of the various writings to which Clement's name has been attached. First comes the genuine Epistle to the Corinthians, most of which is preserved in the Codex Alexandrinus in the British Museum, the rest not having been known till nine years ago.

With it we must associate the remarkable Homily, certainly not Clement's but as certainly of great antiquity, which is commonly called Clement's Second Epistle, part of which was in like manner unknown till nine years ago.

¹ Lightfoot's Second Edition of 'S. Clement of Rome' did not appear till 1890.

Both these works, it must always be remembered, were entirely unknown in modern Europe, a few neglected fragments excepted, till 1633, when Patrick Young published them from the Codex Alexandrinus. The Clement of Rome known to the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century was wholly a fictitious Clement, or rather a conglomeration of fictitious Clements.

Next, we may mention two obscure Epistles on Virginity, published in 1752, known only in Syriac, and that from a single MS., but originally written in Greek. They appear to belong to the third or possibly the latter part of the second century.

Again, Clement's name is attached in some ancient authorities to the strange composite work, half didactic, half legal, which we call the Apostolic Constitutions, apparently dating from the fourth century though containing earlier elements. When it was first published in the 16th century, it was under Clement's name. The remarkable Liturgy, or rather perhaps combination of Liturgies, embedded in the eighth book, is for this reason still called, absurdly enough, the "Clementine Liturgy," by some writers on Liturgies. A totally different Syriac Liturgy (Renaudot, ii. 186 ff.) is likewise called after Clement of Rome.

Lastly we come to the five alleged Epistles of Clement which stand first in the series of spurious Epistles of early Roman Bishops, commonly called

the False Decretals, forged in the ninth century, a main bulwark of the papal power in the middle ages. Curiously enough the first of these epistles is no other than Rufinus's translation of the alleged Epistle of Clement to St James; so that the peculiar literature to which the Recognitions belong supplied the starting point for the False Decretals¹. These five Decretal Epistles and the Recognitions themselves were in fact what for many centuries the Western Church received as Clement's writings.

To recapitulate, the spurious Clementine literature falls into five groups, without counting the Syriac Liturgy. (1) The so-called second Greek Epistle, (2) the Epistles on Virginity, (3) the Judaizing literature represented by the Recognitions and Homilies, (4) the Apostolic Constitutions, and (5) the Decretal Epistles². It may be worth adding that the plural name "Clementines," sometimes given to the Homilies alone, sometimes to the Homilies and Recognitions together, is well known in late ecclesiastical usage in a different sense totally unconnected with the Clement of the first century: it designates a collection of decretals added to the Canon Law of the Latin Church by Pope Clement V. early in the fourteenth century.

¹ See Lightfoot's *Clement*, 18 ff. (Vol. 1. p. 102, Ed. 2).

² This list may now be augmented by consulting the index to Harnack's *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Litteratur*, 1. 942.

We come now to the history of the Clementine *History of printed editions.* writings as printed books.

The Recognitions were first published at Paris in 1504 by a man whose ecclesiastical and theological position is of peculiar interest, Jacques de Fèvre of Etaples, commonly known as Faber Stapulensis. He was a kind of predecessor of Erasmus and our own Colet. He eagerly embraced the new Greek learning. He was a biblical scholar of considerable eminence, and was no less zealous for the spread of practical religion. But two of his friends suffered at the stake, and he himself escaped only by royal favour. The Recognitions he published with the Paradisus of Heraclides, a collection of lives of Egyptian hermits. The testimonies which he cites are curious: "De recognitionibus vero Petri per Clementem gloriosum Christi martyrem non aliud afferre possum iudicium quam quod celebratissime memorie afferre solebat Mirandula, doctrinam continere apostolicam. Neque beatissimus Martyr Anacletus aliud sensisse videtur, cum Clementem predecessorem suum apostolicum virum et Spiritu Dei plenum citat." This edition, though known in the last century, has subsequently been forgotten. All recent critics state that the Recognitions were first published in 1526, by Sichard at Basel, as Sichard evidently supposed himself. He used two MSS. Appended were the decretal epistles.

This edition was more than once reprinted.

There is a handy reproduction of it issued in 1568, four years after the close of the Council of Trent, in combination with the Apostolic Constitutions (in Latin), and many papal epistles and other authoritative documents, and finally a translation of the Epitome. The same or nearly the same writings were again published in the following year at Cologne by Venrad with retouchings of some obnoxious phrases in the Recognitions, and this edition became a standard for a considerable time.

At length Cotelier, one of the great French scholars of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, published in 1672 his beautiful and admirable collection of the Fathers, who, as he supposed, "*temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*," their "*opera edita et inedita, vera et suppositicia*." For the Recognitions he used six MSS., but apparently contented himself with noting their chief variations: his text seems to be only the text which he inherited from his predecessors. His greatest service however to the "*opera suppositicia*" of Clement was the publication of the Clementine Homilies, "*vetustate nobile Apocryphum*," as he calls it, which he had the good fortune to find in a Paris MS. Observing that the end was evidently wanting he made many efforts, in conjunction with Emeric Bigot, to hear of another more complete MS. elsewhere, but in vain, and was constrained to publish the work imperfect as it was. In the margin he gave references to parallel passages

of the Recognitions. The Epitome, in the only form then known, he printed afresh in Greek : it had been printed once before.

This edition was twice reprinted, not too accurately, by Le Clerc, with the addition of some notes by other critics. His final edition of 1724 is a very useful book, notwithstanding the misprints. All the notes are brought together and placed under the text instead of being reserved for the second volume. The dissertations by various critics which Le Clerc inserted do not concern us, as none of them refer to the Recognitions or Homilies.

With the exception of a fresh reprint in Galland's *Bibliotheca* there is nothing more to mention between Cotelier and the small recent edition already mentioned, unless it be Schweigler's handy edition of the Homilies, rather smaller than Dressel's, but otherwise similar and for what it contains at least as good ; but unfortunately lacking the last Homily and a half, which had not been discovered when it was published.

In 1861 Lagarde published what he called the Recognitions in Syriac from two¹ MSS. of the British Museum, one of them written as early as A.D. 411, i.e. about the time of Rufinus's death, the other some four centuries later. Strictly speaking this is a

¹ Scrivener *Introduction*³ 318 speaks of the Travancore Syriac Bible in the Cambridge University Library (OO. 1. 2) as containing the Clementine Homilies. But this is a mistake. What it does contain is part of the Apostolic Constitutions.

combination of two works, the first alone of which is found in the later MS. It consists of *Recog.* I.—III. (with a few lines of IV.). To this in the older MS. is added a second portion made up of *Hom.* X.—XIV., with the omission of the latter part of *Hom.* XII. To the Syriac names and numbering we shall have to return at another time.

*MSS. of
the Homi-
lies.*

From the editions we naturally pass to the Greek and Latin MSS. At present two MSS. only are known of the Homilies, and of the alleged Epistles of St Peter and Clement. The Paris MS. discovered and followed by Cotelier was collated afresh by Lagarde. It is of the twelfth century. It breaks off in the midst of a sentence at ἡ ἔλθῃ ὁπότε in 19. 14. l. 7. The other MS., the Ottobonianus [ascribed to the fourteenth century], was discovered at Rome by Dressel in 1838, fifteen years before he published his text. Lagarde procured a fresh collation of the last two Homilies. This MS. is to all appearances complete. The scribe at all events believed it to be complete, adding ἀμήν at the end. The two MSS. contain virtually the same text, usually, though not always, best preserved in O (Ottob.). A third MS. must have existed in the sixteenth century, and may exist still, but it has not been recovered. The Spanish Jesuit Torres (Turrianus), in a book which he wrote in 1573 in defence of the Apostolic Canons and False Decretals, quoted in

Greek a few passages from what he called a different edition of the Recognitions from that which was translated by Rufinus, but gave no description beyond the words "quae ad manus meas aliquando venit" (p. 656). It was apparently divided into books not tallying with our twenty Homilies. Torres's MS. must have contained at least the Epistle attributed to St Peter, for he once has a Greek quotation from that Epistle, while the Epistle itself was unknown to the world at large till Cotelier published it.

The MSS. of the Epitome, of which Cotelier used *MSS. of the Epitome.* seven, are neither important enough nor sufficiently explored to require notice in detail. But it is worth mention that Tischendorf discovered two MSS., one vaguely described as Italian, the other still more vaguely as Oriental, which are virtually MSS. of the Epitome, though not so called by him, but which approximate more nearly than the rest to the Homilies themselves, and are thus more useful for the textual criticism of the Homilies. He has printed specimens in his *Anecdota Sacra et Prof.*, pp. 77 ff.

The MSS. of the Latin Recognitions are tolerably numerous, but have as yet been very imperfectly *MSS. of the Recognitions.* explored. Dr Lightfoot (*Clem.*, p. 18) speaks of having himself examined about thirty¹, and mentions that the Vercelli MS., of the sixth or seventh century, is the oldest known. Cotelier used six, probably all included in ten which Lagarde himself

¹ 'A large number' Vol. I. p. 416, Ed. 2.

examined at Paris. Gersdorf in his edition made use of two at Bern and two at Leipzig; but unfortunately he gives no various readings except certain arbitrary omissions of the Leipzig MSS. We have in England several MSS. of the Latin Recognitions, one of them in Trinity Library, but of late date. Rufinus's version of the alleged Epistle of Clement is preserved in very numerous MSS., of three different classes: (1) separately, or rather in company with a comparatively ancient spurious Latin letter which forms the basis of the second Decretal Epistle; (2) with the same associate in many MSS. of the Recognitions, but (Dr Lightfoot tells us (p. 19))¹ only in comparatively late copies; and (3) with the amplifications of the ninth century as part of the Decretal Epistles.

Summary. We have now gone through the chief facts in the transmission of the books now known to be extant, Epistle of Peter and Adjuration of James, in Greek only; Epistle of Clement in Greek and Latin; twenty so-called Homilies, fifteen-and-a-half of them in Greek only, four-and-a-half of them in Greek and Syriac; an Epitome of them, with extraneous supplements, in Greek only; and ten books of so-called Recognitions, seven of them in Latin only, three of them in Latin and Syriac.

*Supple-
mentary
Materials
for Criti-
cism.*

These actually existing texts must supply us with

¹ Vol. 1. p. 416, Ed. 2.

the most trustworthy materials for criticism. There are, however, other materials which have to be taken into account, the most important of them being the explicit notices of books belonging to this literature in ancient writers, and also the instances of silent adoption of matter apparently derived from them. Another class of evidence is made up of the titles found either in the body of the existing texts or affixed to them in MSS. This rather unattractive but indispensable class of evidence had better be examined first, in preparation, as it were, for the titles which will meet us in ecclesiastical writers.

We begin with the titles expressed or implied in the letters which our MSS. prefix to the Homilies. ^{(1) Titles prefixed to the MSS. of the Homilies.} Each of these letters is introductory to books purporting to contain discourses or disputations of St Peter, but we must be content for the present to leave it an open question what these books were;—that is to say whether the Epistles were introductory to the Homilies, or to the Recognitions, or one Epistle to the Homilies and another to the Recognitions, or again, one or both to one or more lost works differing more or less from both the extant works.

In the Paris MS. (and perhaps also the Ottobonian) a general description is prefixed to the Epistles and Homilies as follows: "A Book (*βιβλος*) containing different Homilies, written by the holy Clement from the lips of the holy Peter the Apostle, and it is called *Κλημέντια*, that is, writings of Clement: and the

same book comprises three prologues, twenty Homilies." Here we find the term 'Ὁμιλῖαι, derived doubtless from one of two sources, whether they be or be not independent of each other; *Ep. Clem. ad Jac.* c. 2, of Clement journeying with Peter, and *πασῶν μου τ. ὁμιλιῶν ἐπακούσαντι*, and the Homilies themselves, *I. 20 τὰς καθ' ἑκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὁμιλίας τε καὶ πράξεις*. It is very difficult to say precisely when ὁμιλία acquired the definite sense 'Homily': that sense is only possible, not necessary, in *Ign. Polyc.* 5; *Clem. Strom.* 603, which are quoted for it. From 'converse' it came to be used of monologue in conversation, and so of monologue generally: see the intermediate use in *Just. Dial.* 85, p. 312 A.

(2) *Title implied in Ep. Pet. and Adjur.*

Three times, c. 1, c. 2, and c. 3, the *Epistle of Peter to James* makes Peter speak of the "books (βιβλοὶ) of my κηρύγματα."

The *Adjuration* once takes up the exact phrase with αὐτοῦ for μου or ἐμῶν, c. 1, and repeats it three times without a pronoun (cc. 2, 3, 4), βιβλία being once substituted for βιβλοὶ. Thus this pair of short writings gives no title expressly; but the form of phrase habitually used seems to imply that the work which they were intended to introduce was called ΠΕΤΡΟΥ ΚΗΡΥΓΜΑΤΑ. There is no allusion to Clement in either Epistle or Adjuration.

(3) *Title in Ep. Clem.*

There is nothing to our purpose in cc. 1—18

of the *Epistle of Clement to James*. In the 19th Peter ^{and the Paris MS.} desires Clement after his death to write a record in epitome (ἐν ἐπιτομῇ ἀναγραφάμενον) going back to his (Clement's) thoughts from his youth up, and describing how from the beginning he had journeyed with Peter, listening to his preached discourses and his acts (κηρυχθέντων λόγων τε καὶ πράξεων) in different cities (κατὰ πόλιν); and then he bids him at the end not shrink from indicating the occasion (πρόφασιν) of Peter's death, which he vaguely implies to be destined to be a death of suffering. Finally in c. 20 Clement tells James that he had promised to do as Peter desired, and had not shrunk from committing to paper in a summary manner (ἐν βίβλοις ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων ποιῆσαι), as it were by way of a sign, the greater part (τὸ πολὺ) of the discourses in different cities which had been already (?) announced (προγραφέντων) to James and sent [to him] by Peter; and from then sending the writing to James, entitling it *Clement's Epitome of the preachings of Peter from place to place* (Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδημίων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή). Here we have a quite definite title, though a peculiar and somewhat obscure one. It contains the names of both Clement and Peter. It describes the work intended by it as an Epitome, a term which is evidently to be explained by the previous passage in which the same word occurs: that is, what was now written down by Clement was but an epitome of what Peter had

preached. Whether it was further meant to be represented as an epitome of an earlier written record of Peter's preachings is difficult to determine, and the more because the few words which seem to speak of an earlier record are themselves obscure, especially as to the force of the phrase *σοι προγραφέντων*, which I have with hesitation rendered "announced to thee," the other possible sense being "written beforehand for thee." *Ἐπιδημίων* is doubtless, as Lagarde accents it, from the adjective *ἐπιδήμιος*, not from the substantive *ἐπιδημία*: but the ultimate sense is probably the same.

The difficulties of the whole passage were evidently felt by Rufinus; for he has handled the grammatical structure violently in order to get a definite sense, and made Clement himself the writer of the previous report ("quamvis tibi de his plurima jam et plenius ante descripta ipso jubente transmiserim"), a statement not contradictory of the Greek, but certainly not contained in it. The chief reason, however, for noticing Rufinus's version is the peculiarity of his rendering of the actual title, viz. *Clementis Itinerarium Praedicationis Petri*, "Clement's Itinerary of Peter's preaching." Cotelier indeed, following at least two earlier editions, has a *non* before *praedicationis*: but Dr Lightfoot has seen the intrusive negative in but one MS., of no great importance (see *Clem.*², I. 415 n.), and it is doubtless spurious, as indeed Cotelier himself appears to assume in his note. At first sight this

title looks unlike the Greek, but I feel sure it is only a compact paraphrase of it, *Itinerarium* being used as a neat synonym of τῶν ἐπιδημιῶν ἐπιτομή on the assumption that ἐπιδημιῶν is a substantive. The influence of this paraphrastic rendering we shall see presently.

The Homilies themselves have in the Paris (and ? Ott.) MS. the title Κλήμεντος τοῦ Πέτρου ἐπιδημιῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή, i.e. (with the probably corrupt τοῦ for τῶν) precisely the title announced at the end of the Epistle of Clement. Evidently either the two writings took their present form together, or the one title was borrowed from the other. It is to be observed that this title *includes* the shorter title which we found to be implied in the Epistle of Peter.

The titles of the Epitome are curiously various, ⁽⁴⁾ *Titles of the Epitome.* and very instructive. Two of Cotelier's MSS. have this, "By Clement, Bishop of Rome, to James, Bishop of Jerusalem, concerning the acts and circuits (πράξεων καὶ περιόδων) of the holy and chief apostle Peter, wherewith also his life is combined (συμπεριείληπται)." Here the first words are derived from the beginning of the Epitome. Another MS., one of Dressel's, has the same title as the Paris MS. gives to the Homilies. In one of Cotelier's and three of Dressel's MSS. these two titles are added together as one, with or without a joining ἤτοι. Likewise four of Cotelier's MSS. have "Life of the holy martyr (or sacred martyr) Clement,

Bishop of Rome, disciple of the holy Apostle Peter," while Tischendorf's Oriental MS. further inserts "and manner of living (*πολιτεία*) and martyrdom" after "life." This form, with *βίος* for its characteristic word, seems to be an expansion of a second element in the first-mentioned title. Taking together all the existing titles found in MSS. of the Epitome, we find apparently three fundamental earlier titles:

(1) As before, *Κλήμεντος τῶν Πέτρου ἐπιδημίων κηρυγμάτων ἐπιτομή*:

(2) *Πράξεις καὶ περίοδοι Πέτρου*, with or without *Κλήμεντος* prefixed; and

(3) *Βίος Κλήμεντος*.

Before leaving the Epitome it is worth while noticing that the name Epitome, though very fitly applied to it by modern editors as an abbreviation of our Homilies, was not so meant in ancient times. It is true that the title containing the Greek word *ἐπιτομή* is one of the titles of what we call the Epitome: but it is incredible that this was the source of the title as prefixed to the Homilies, still less as forming part of the text of the Epistle to James, while the converse process would be natural enough. Doubtless then the original meant to be represented as epitomised was not our Homilies, but either the actual preachings of Peter or a former written record of them.

(5) *Title
in Preface
to Recog.*

The Preface to our Latin Recognitions is a letter

from Rufinus to his friend Gaudentius, probably the Bishop of Brixia. About the middle of the Preface he refers to the existence in Greek of two editions of the same work, "Ἀναγνώσεων hoc est Recognitionum." Whether this is the true reading, or two letters should be inserted so as to make Ἀναγνωρίσεων or even Ἀναγνωρισμῶν, is of little consequence, for there is some slight evidence for ἀνέγνωσις as meaning 'recognition' and for ἀναγινώσκω as meaning 'recognise.' One of these 'editions' of 'Recognitions' was what Rufinus had translated. He uses no other title, being twice content to use the single word¹ *Clementem* where he means the book.

In MSS. of the Recognitions we find an extra-ordinary variety of titles. Cotelier enumerates five, (6) *Title in MSS. of Recogn.* Grabe (*Spicil.* 275 f.) four more, and none of the nine include *Recognitiones*. Elsewhere however we do find *Recognitiones Clementis* thus, or with an expansion, and (in Le Fèvre) *Recognitiones Petri Apostoli*. Here the source is obviously Rufinus's own Preface. As clearly his version of the Epistle of Clement has suggested a group of titles including *Itinerarium* or *Liber Itinerarius*, *Clementis* being the name usually added, but *Prædicationis Petri* at least once. Not to mention two exceptional descriptive headings (rather than titles), we have in at least one MS. *Gesta*

¹ [Rufinus's use taken in connexion with the evidence of the Latin translator of Origen in *Mat.*, of the *Opus Imperfectum*, and of the Syriac Version, suggests that '*Clemens*' was a regular title. See also p. 75.]

Clementis (which may stand for a Greek title Πράξεις Κλήμεντος), and in at least four *Historia Clementis*.

(7) *Titles
in Syriac
MSS.*

Finally in the Syriac version the older MS. has merely the name *Clemens*, the younger MS. has *History of Clemens*.

*The evi-
dence of
ancient
writers.*

We have now done for the present with the titles prefixed to the MSS. of the existing writings, or recited or implied in the text of the writings. We come next to the traces of the use of the Clementine literature in ecclesiastical writers.

*2nd cen-
tury blank.*

We pass through the second century without finding any such trace. Notices of Simon Magus occur in several writers, as we shall presently have occasion to see when we are examining the story of Simon Magus; but there is no allusion to conflicts with St Peter in Syria, such as fill our Homilies and Recognitions.

*Philocalia
explicit.*

But the first piece of evidence is a striking one by its comparative definiteness and the variety of particulars which it includes. In a fragment of the Third Tome of Origen's elaborate Commentary on Genesis, preserved to us in c. 23 (22 some reckonings) of the *Philocalia* or collection of extracts chiefly from his writings made by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus (see Lomm. viii. 41 ff., or xxv. 226 ff.; Migne ii. 85 [= ii. 20 Ru.]), the words of Gen. i. 14 about the heavenly luminaries being for signs and for seasons led him to an elaborate refutation of astrology.

Towards the end (c. 14) [he]¹ says, "Yea, and Clement the Roman, a disciple of Peter the Apostle, after using words in harmony with these [words of mine] on the present problem, addressed to his father at Laodicea in the Circuits (πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ εἰπὼν ἐν ταῖς Περιόδοις), speaks a very necessary word for the end of such discourses as these concerning those things which seem to have proceeded from Genesis (= astrological destiny), in the fourteenth discourse (λόγῳ)." Then follows a long extract occupying 52 lines, answering to 2½ cc. of our Recognitions (x. 10 fin.—13 in.). On comparison of the two texts it is evident that the variations between them are probably only such as might be due to Rufinus, an incorrigibly paraphrastic translator. His version omits nothing of any moment, and adds nothing but some petty and obvious elucidations such as he might easily think necessary for intelligibility. Probably therefore he had before him the same Greek text which we now read in the Philocalia. There is indeed nothing characteristic of the Clementine litera-

¹ [These words, as Prof. Robinson has since shewn, in his edition of the Philocalia [Cambridge 1893], are really the heading of a new extract, appended by Basil and Gregory to the extract from Origen *in Gen.* The evidence therefore is that of Basil and Gregory and not that of Origen. Origen's knowledge of the Clementine Literature can still be established on the evidence of his *Com. in Matth.* But it must be noticed that that not only belongs to a later period in his life, but is also far less definite in character. I have enclosed in square brackets words and sentences, which require modification in view of this newly discovered fact. ED.]

ture in either the argument or the language in which it is expressed. It contains not a vestige of religious thought or diction, Jewish or Christian. It is such as might be freely used by any believer in free will, and for all we know may have been originally borrowed from some heathen philosopher. But fortunately [Origen] has fixed the actual context of his quotation. It was part of an argument between Clement and his father, held at Laodicea, and the first few lines of the extract preserve phrases which mark the interlocutors, just as in our Latin Recognitions καὶ ὁ πατήρ, Σύγγνωθί μοι, ὦ τέκνον = "Et pater, Ignosce, inquit, fili"; καὶ γὰρ ἀπεκρινάμην = "Et ego respondi." The very fact of the dialogue being held with Clement's father shews that [Origen] was quoting from a book written on the framework of the family romance connected with Clement's name, that is, *not* from a book, supposing such to have existed, in which the same, or at least somewhat similar doctrinal teaching had not yet been clothed in this particular form. The mention of Laodicea, again in agreement with our Recognitions, likewise indicates a work in which the disputations of Peter were not confined to Cæsarea but carried on further up the Syrian coast. On the other hand, our Homilies, which likewise extend the disputations to Laodicea, have no such discourse on astrology. It follows from these various data that the book used by [Origen] was either the Greek original of our Recognitions or an earlier book, the parent of the

original of our Recognitions, and having in common with them not merely a considerable piece of text, but at least a portion of their characteristic framework, and agreeing with them against the Homilies.

So much for the coincidences. On the other hand the names are different. When Rufinus speaks of Recognitions, [Origen] speaks of *Periodoi*, Circuits or Peregrinations. The interest attached to this name will appear presently. Secondly, the passage which our Recognitions exhibit in their tenth (and last) book was found by Origen in the fourteenth discourse, or book of his *Periodi*.

We may also probably see an indication of difference in the fact that five pages earlier, in Gen. iii. 10 [= *Philoc.* p. 204 Rob.], Origen refers to certain constancies of national custom as at variance with astrological causation. Now in the previous book of Recognitions (ix. cc. 17—29) 13 chapters are taken up with an elaborate refutation of the astrological doctrine by appeal to the laws or customs of many nations, and yet the differences are so great and the coincidences so small that it is hardly credible that Origen should have written as he did if he had those chapters of our present Recognitions before him. As a matter of fact these chapters coincide pretty closely with the Book of the Laws of Countries extant in Syriac and in part in Greek, written by an early Bardesanist, and comparison shews that the Recognitions borrowed from the Bardesanist book, not *vice versâ* (*Dictionary of*

Christian Biography, i. 258). Now Bardesan himself died in 223 (*ib.* 251), so that on this ground likewise it would be almost impossible that the *Περίοδοι* used by Origen should contain the chapters founded on the Bardesanist work. At the same time it is likely enough that the *Περίοδοι* did contain some such short passage as we find in Origen [who may indeed be alluding to it in his retrospective words first quoted], and that it was afterwards superseded by the more elaborate argument from a different source. [This instance is a warning against assuming the contents of the *Περίοδοι* and of the Greek original of our *Recognitions* to have been identical, notwithstanding the agreements between them which we have already found.]

[This important testimony is comparatively definite not only in its contents but in its date. Origen's biography was better known to Eusebius than anything else in the events preceding his own lifetime; and Eusebius (vi. 24. 2) tells us expressly that nine out of the twelve books on Genesis were written at Alexandria; probably some little time before he left it, for the preceding year or two must have been in great part occupied by his journey to Greece through Palestine. He left Alexandria about 231 or 232; so that about a quarter of the third century must have elapsed when this passage was transcribed.]

*Origen in
Mat.*

Again, Origen's writings supply a second unquestionable reference to the Clementine literature

at another period of his life. His Commentary on Matthew is one of his latest works, belonging, Eusebius says (vi. 36), to Philip the Arabian's reign, 244—249 [say twenty years later than the former quotation]. The reference occurs in a part of this Commentary which is preserved only in an ancient Latin version, on xxvi. 10, ἔργον γὰρ καλὸν ἡργάσασθαι εἰς ἐμέ (iii. 894 Ru. = iv. 401 Lom). To illustrate a distinction between good works done from what he calls human or natural motives, and good works done for God, he cites Dan. iv. 27 (*Audi consilium meum, rex, peccata tua eleemosynis redime*) as recognising a certain worth in the former, and then proceeds, "*Tale aliquid dicit et Petrus apud Clementem, quoniam opera bona, quae fiunt ab infidelibus, in hoc saeculo eis prosunt, non et in illo, ad consequendam vitam aeternam : et convenienter, quia nec illi propter Deum faciunt, sed propter ipsam naturam humanam. Qui autem propter Deum faciunt, id est fideles, non solum in hoc saeculo proficit eis, sed in illo, magis autem in illo.*" Now this is quite in the spirit of the Clementines. Cotelier, who noticed the reference, cites Rec. vii. 38 (and in his note there, Hom. xiii. 21) as the original, but the differences are so great that Origen cannot be quoting from either place, or indeed from any place now extant. One difference is specially striking : in both Recognitions and Homilies the condition mentioned, which alters the quality of virtuous acts, is simply baptism ; nothing

else is mentioned. In the quotation from Origen nothing is said of baptism, but in its place we find "faith"; not, it is true, faith in the New Testament sense, but in the sense of correct belief. At the same time, the kind of value here assigned to "faith" is quite in the Clementine line of doctrine, e.g. Rec. x. 2. On the other hand the language is certainly not Origen's own, but that of some Clementine source.

*Compare
the Opus
Imp. in
Mat.*

If there were any doubt on this point, it would be removed by a curious coincidence, certainly not accidental, with another quotation in a later writer, the author of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum*, now preserved only in Latin, the work of an Arian of about the end of the fourth century. On Mt. x. 41 (Hom. 26, p. 851 of Gaume's *Edition of S. Chrysostom*, vol. VI.), the prophet's reward, he speaks of a hospitable heathen as one who "prophetae quidem mercedem non habet, aliquam autem habet." Then he quotes the same verse of Daniel that Origen had done, and then at once adds, "Audi mysterium quod Petrus apud Clementem exposuit, 'Si fidelis fecerit opus bonum, et hic ei prodest, liberans eum a malis, et in illo saeculo ad percipiendum regnum caeleste, magis autem ibi quam hic. Si autem infidelis fecerit opus bonum, hic ei prodest opus ipsius, et hic ei reddit Deus bona pro opere suo: in illo autem saeculo nihil ei prodest opus ipsius. Nec enim collocatur inter caeteros fideles propter opus suum, et juste, quia naturali bono motus fecit bonum,

non propter Deum. Ideo in corpus suum recipit mercedem operis sui, non in anima sua," evidently the same passage as in Origen, but in a form fuller and more exact, and even more distinct from the cited passages of Recognitions and Homilies. The evidence is important even if the two quotations are independent, but the simultaneous citing of so little obvious a passage as that of Daniel proves that the writer had read Origen, as indeed he would have been very unlike almost every Greek commentator on the Gospels if he had failed to do. It matters little whether he transferred the double reference by Origen to an earlier part of the Gospel or, as is not unlikely, found the double reference in both places. The loss of Origen's Commentary on c. x. and *Op. Imp.* on c. xxvi. renders verification here impossible. The important point is that Origen is here again clearly seen using at Cæsarea a Clementine work, and that containing a passage not in either of the extant works; though of course we cannot be sure that it was identical with the *Περίοδοι* [which he had cited some twenty years before at Alexandria].

One or two other quotations possibly derived through Origen may be passed over.

Origen's elder contemporary, Hippolytus, shews *Hippolytus*
silent. no knowledge of Clementine literature, though he wrote much on points likely to elicit such knowledge had he possessed it. Nor are there any more traces for three-quarters of a century, though it is true that

the extreme scantiness of the remains of this period forbids us to lay stress on the silence.

*Eusebius
on St
Peter's
writings*

When we reach Eusebius we naturally expect ample information. What we do find is interesting, and yet a little disappointing. It is given under three heads, St Peter's writings (iii. 3), the Canon of Scripture (iii. 25), and Clement's writings (iii. 38 § 5). On St Peter, after speaking of the one acknowledged epistle, and the one epistle of doubtful authority, he comes to the writings which he does not know to have been ever quoted or used as Catholic Scripture. They are Peter's so-called Acts (*πράξεις*), his Gospel, his Preaching (*κήρυγμα*), and his Apocalypse. In the chapter on the Canon he places the Apocalypse of Peter among the spurious books (*νόθα*), and at the end refers slightly to books brought forward by heretics under the name of apostles, but not noticed by ecclesiastical writers, containing Gospels as of Peter, Thomas, Matthias, and others, or Acts, as of Andrew or John and the other Apostles. Setting aside the so-called Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter, we have the Acts of Peter in the one list but not in the other, unless, as some suppose, it is identical with the Acts of Paul. At all events it is not likely to be any of our books. The *κήρυγμα* is in the first list alone. But it is morally certain that what is meant is a shorter and totally different book¹ quoted

*on the
Canon,*

¹ The fragments of this book have been collected by Hilgenfeld (after Grabe and Credner) in his *N. T. extra Can. rec.* Ed. 2, IV. p. 51.

under that name by Clement of Alexandria and others, and at least as early as the early part of the second century. Thus in neither list is there anything like *Περίοδοι* of Peter.

When, however, we come to the chapter on *on Clement*. Clement (iii. 38. 5), after being told of the *Epistle to the Corinthians*, and the so-called Second, which was not used by the older writers, we read "Nay, moreover, certain men have quite lately (χθές καὶ πρῶην) brought forward as written by him other verbose and lengthy writings (πολυεπὴ καὶ μακρὰ συγγράμματα), said to contain Dialogues of Peter and Appion (Πέτρου δὴ καὶ Ἀππίωνος διαλόγους περιέχοντα), of which not the slightest mention is to be found among the ancients, for they do not even preserve in purity the stamp of the apostolic orthodoxy," by which doubtless he means that their doctrine alone would disprove their apostolic origin, even if any respectable tradition supported them. Now Appion is a personage, and to a small extent an interlocutor, in the end of both our works (Rec. x. 52—64 = Hom. xx. 11—22, i.e. 12 or 13 chapters); and, moreover, occupies a much larger place, and becomes a principal disputer with Peter, in the earlier part of the Homilies (iv. 6—vii. 5, 3 Homilies or 71 chapters), with nothing answering in the Recognitions. Under these circumstances it was not unnatural that critics should assume Eusebius to be speaking of a book bearing the title *Dialogues of Peter and Appion*,

a book distinct from both Recognitions and Homilies, but supplying materials to one or both. But is there really any solid evidence for the existence of such a book? If we look carefully at Eusebius' words, we see that the writings (*συγγράμματα*) which he speaks of *contained* (or rather, were *said* to contain, *δὴ* and *περιέχοντα*) dialogues of Peter and Appion. This is not natural language to use if this was the actual title. Supposing that some contemporary theologians disliked by Eusebius quoted on their own behalf words which they said were spoken by Peter, *διαλεγόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀππίωνα* (or even *ἐν τοῖς διαλόγοις, π.τ. Α.*), every word used by Eusebius would then be natural; but the accident of citing from those particular disputations would not prove that they occupied the whole of the voluminous book. There is then no reason why the book should not have been our Homilies, or some kindred form of the literature, and this supposition gets rid of the difficulty that otherwise Eusebius must be thought to speak only of a book unknown before or after, and himself to know nothing of any Clementine literature not concerned with Appion.

His language about the exclusively recent use of the book shews only that either he did not identify it with [Origen's] *Περίοδοι* [or had forgotten all about Origen's language, as indeed his failure to name the *Περίοδοι* as an alleged work of Clement shews him to have done].

In appearance indeed the supposed book is doubly vouched for afterwards. Jerome in his chapter (15) on Clement in his *De Viris Illustribus* notices "Disputatio Petri et Appionis longo sermone conscripta"; but he goes on "quam Eusebius in tertio historiae ecclesiae volumine coarguit," shewing that, as with a large proportion of the books enumerated in his catalogue, he had no authority but Eusebius, and had been beguiled, like the moderns, by the temptation of catching at a title for an otherwise nameless book. That he mentions no other Clementine literature, though as we shall presently see he cites it elsewhere, is a piece of forgetfulness for which this strange catalogue offers other parallels. Photius, as we shall see, is a much more substantial witness; but his clause about ὁ ἐπιγραφόμενος ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ (Clement) Πέτρου καὶ Ἀππίωνος πολύστιχος διάλογος (112 f., p. 90, b 12 f.) is no part of his account of the books seen by himself, but only a supplementary note condensing and paraphrasing supplementary information from Eusebius.

No independent evidence for 'Peter and Appion.'

We now pass on half a century, and come to Epiphanius, who shares with Eusebius the honour of having preserved most remains of former centuries, though often in a form which renders it difficult to assign to his materials their precise value. His great book on heresies abounds in valuable information about Judaizing sects: but unfortunately no part of

The evidence of Epiphanius to Hierodot.

it is more full of confusion. The chapter¹ with which we are now immediately concerned is the very long chapter devoted to the Ebionites, or, as he usually calls them, the Ebionæans, chapter 30. The primary basis of this part of his work is the lost Syntagma of Hippolytus; but in this particular chapter the information derived from that written source is swallowed up in a mass of oral information belonging to Epiphanius' own time, and cannot be disentangled with any certainty. What is clear is that we have a mixture of particulars concerning the Ebionites proper, of the simpler and older type, and the Essene Ebionites, to whom Epiphanius' contemporary notices must have at least chiefly related. Respecting these Essene Ebionites, to whom all that we definitely know of the Clementine literature exclusively belongs, it is enough for the present to refer to Lightfoot's pages on the subject in his dissertation on "St Paul and the Three" in his edition of the Epistle to the Galatians, taken in connexion with his dissertation on the Essenes in his Colossians. We are at present concerned only with what Epiphanius says of their literature.

We may pass over an obscure and perhaps corrupt statement, in § 2, p. 126 B, that they write their books *πρεσβυτέροις καὶ παρθένοις*. A page later he speaks of their exclusive use of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and this suggests to him a long digressive

¹ Chap. xxx. pp. 126 f. 137—140.

story. In §§ 13 and 14, pp. 137 ff., he returns to this Gospel, and describes some of its peculiarities. Then comes (§ 15, p. 139 B) the passage which chiefly concerns us. "They use," he says, "certain other books likewise; it is said the so-called Circuits of Peter (δῆθεν ταῖς Περιόδοις καλουμέναις Πέτρου), which were written by the hand of Clement (διὰ Κλήμεντος), falsifying (ροθεύσαντες) their contents (or, by a slight transposition, "some of their contents," τὰ μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς for μὲν τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς), though leaving a few genuine things." He goes on to say that they are convicted of this falsification by Clement's encyclic epistles, which are read in the holy Churches, his faith and doctrine having a different character from the falsified words inserted by them in his name in the *Περίοδοι*. The two points which he mentions as characteristic of Clement, the inculcation of virginity and the praise of Elijah, David, Samson, and all the prophets, shew that he had in mind the two Epistles on Virginity now extant only in Syriac. It is doubtless perplexing that he should call them "encyclic epistles read in the holy Churches": but, Mr Cotterill notwithstanding (*Modern Criticism and Clement's Epistles to Virgins*, p. 17), Lightfoot's suggestion is a sufficiently probable one (*Clem.* 16 f. [Vol. 1. p. 408, Ed. 2]), that Epiphanius confused these two epistles which he had seen with the other pair of epistles which he had read about, but which there is no evidence that he had ever seen. He

proceeds, "In the *Περίοδοι* therefore (*οὖν*) they adapted the whole to their own views (*τὸ πᾶν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μετήνεγκαν*—*μεταφέρω* is used of translation from one language into another or from philosophical diction into poetry), representing Peter falsely in many ways, as that he was daily baptized for the sake of purification, as these also do, and they say that he likewise abstained from animal food and meat, as they themselves also do, and from all other food made from flesh, since both Ebion himself and the Ebionites entirely abstain from these things." This is all that is said about the *Περίοδοι*; and if Epiphanius' words are carefully examined it becomes clear that two examples alone are given of the falsifying or adaptation of this work, viz., Peter's daily baptism and his abstinence from animal food. The previously mentioned rejection of virginity and detestation of the prophets came in parenthetically, and are attributed to the living Ebionites here described, not to the *Περίοδοι* used by them. The following *οὖν*, which is (as often) resumptive, marks the return to the subject of the *Περίοδοι* after the digression. Now both the points here noticed as characteristic of the *Περίοδοι* can be recognised in both our *Recognitions* and our *Homilies*, though not very conspicuous in either work. At the end of the several days of disputation Peter's bath before the solemn or eucharistic evening meal is occasionally mentioned, especially in the *Homilies* (references

in Hilgenfeld, *Clem.* p. 152 note): and in one passage common to both works (Rec. vii. 6 = Hom. xii. 6) Peter calls attention to his food as consisting only of bread and olives, with potherbs on rare occasions. Here then there is nothing to prove that the *Περίοδοι* was a different work from what we hold in our hands; and if they contained what in Epiphanius' eyes were more startling enormities he would hardly have been content with mentioning such comparatively in-offensive slanders of the apostle as the two which he produces. It is also to be observed that he evidently did not regard the work as spurious, but as interpolated: this is clearly implied by *ὀλίγα δὲ ἀληθινὰ εἰσάαντες*, and doubtless he fully accepted Clement as the original author. This is evidently quite a different point of view from that of Eusebius.

To the *Περίοδοι* he does not refer again: but we must follow his exposition a little further. After the last sentence quoted he goes on to repeat answers given by living Ebionites when questioned; next he mentions their use of baptism in addition to their daily washings, certain peculiarities of their Eucharist, and certain varieties of Christological doctrine found among them. Among other things he states that the Gospel in use among them represented our Lord as saying, "I came to abolish (*καταλῦσαι*) the sacrifices; and unless ye cease from sacrificing, the wrath will not cease from you":—a representation which remarkably agrees with some prominent

language about the Jewish sacrifices in the first book of our Recognitions (c. 37 ll. 15, 17; c. 39 l. 4; c. 54 l. 1; c. 55 l. 9; c. 64 ll. 2 f.), and is doctrinally in harmony with various passages of the Homilies (e.g. iii. 26, 45: cf. Schliemann 222).

After this third digression Epiphanius returns to the Ebionite literature. "There are other Acts," he says, "which they call Acts of Apostles (*πράξεις δὲ ἄλλας καλοῦσιν ἀποστόλων εἶναι*), containing many things full of their impiety, from which source (*ἐνθεν*, if the reading is right, see Dindorf and Oehler) they systematically (*οὐ παρέργως*) armed themselves against the truth. And they put forward (*ὑποτίθενται*) certain Steps (or Ascents, *ἀναβαθμούς*) and Instructions (*ὑφηγήσεις*) said to be in the Steps or Ascents of James (*δῆθεν ἐν τοῖς ἀναβαθμοῖς Ἰακώβου*), representing him as expounding (*ἐξηγουμένον*), either Scripture or the Divine Will) against the Temple and the sacrifices, and against the fire on the altar, and many other things full of empty speech (*κενοφωνίας*)." It seems to me morally certain that the fictitious Acts of Apostles here spoken of cannot be the *Περίοδοι*, being introduced as *πράξεις ἄλλας*.

We must not pause now over the *Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου*, which have by some been identified with a work supposed to be embedded in the latter chapters of Rec. i., in which the steps of the Temple are

¹ On *ἐξηγοῦμαι* -ητής, for *μάντις* as expounders of Divine signs or Divine rites, see Hemst. on Poll. 8. 124; also, e.g., Thuc. 7. 50.

spoken of. But the combination with *ὑφηγήσεις* renders it unlikely that at least Epiphanius understood by *ἀναβαθμοί* material steps: perhaps he took it to mean "introductory teachings." His use of the particle *δήθεν* suggests, however, that he had not himself seen the *Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου*. The last words of the sentence *ἄλλα πολλά*, etc., may mean either other books or other contents of this one book.

Epiphanius goes on, hardly taking breath, "as also they are not ashamed to accuse Paul here, by means of (dat.) certain fictitious discourses which they have made, of the deceit and error of their false apostles" (the sentence cannot be made other than clumsy). The accusations said to have been made against St Paul are that he was a Greek, of a Greek mother and father, that he spent some time at Jerusalem, and there became a proselyte and was circumcised, in order to be able to marry the priest's daughter, and that when he failed to obtain his wish he was enraged and wrote against Circumcision and the Sabbath and the Law. All this matter is important as illustrative of certain features of the Clementine literature, but there is nothing in Epiphanius' own words to shew that it came from any book belonging properly to that literature. The clumsiness of his language leaves it uncertain whether the accusations against St Paul came from the *Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου* or not. On the whole probably they did, as *ἐν ταῦθα* would seem to mean either "in this book," or "at this

juncture," i.e. on the occasion of James's denunciation of the Temple and sacrifices. In this case the λόγοι of the ψευδαπόστολοι would mean speeches against Paul embodied in the book, as by James, Peter, or others of the Twelve. On the other hand this part of the sentence taken by itself would rather suggest that the λόγοι were separate writings professing to be Acts or Teachings of particular Apostles; and might thus be identical with the πρίξεις mentioned a little before. But the questions raised here will have to be considered again in another connexion.

One other passage of Epiphanius in his account of another heresy (xxvi. 16) has to be noticed. In speaking quite casually of an unclean piece of Greek mythology he refers to an interpretation given by ὁ ἅγιος Κλήμης καταγελῶν τῆς τῶν θεῶν τῶν Ἑλληνῶν αἰσχροουργίας. He does not profess to give the exact words; but the sense stands quite clearly in Hom. iv. 16, in a part of the Homilies not represented in our Recognitions. It would answer to the Dialogues with Appion, if such dialogues ever existed as a separate work. But we have seen this was not the case, and certainly Epiphanius never mentions them. The only question that can reasonably arise is whether Epiphanius used here a base of our Homilies, or our Homilies themselves, or an expurgated recension of them which he took to be their original form. As we shall see, such an expurgated recension certainly existed at a later time, and the most

probable inference from his language in the two passages taken together is that it was already in his hands, both this and the Ebionite form of it apparently having the title *Περίοδοι Πέτρου*.

Probably about a quarter of a century after Epiphanius—the estimate of date can be only rough—we come to the *Opus Imperfectum* mentioned before, The 'Opus Imperfectum in Matthaum.' a Greek work preserved only in Latin. It contains at least five, doubtless really six, references to Clementine literature. The formula of reference is four times *Petrus apud Clementem*, once (951 a AB on Mt. xxiv. 24) in *Historia Clementis Petrus*. *Historia* might easily here be merely a descriptive designation, not a title: but the occurrence of *Historia Clementis* as a title in later times renders it probable that it has the same character here. We have already sufficiently considered the full quotation on the good works of believers and unbelievers respectively, on account of its manifest connexion with a similar quotation by Origen. Another less distinct but probably not accidental coincidence with Origen occurs in the commentary on Mt. xxiv. 15 (944 b, c.). The writer combats the interpretation of the abomination of desolation as being the image of Cæsar set up by Pilate in the Temple, and prefers an interpretation founded on the parallel Lc. xxi. 20, that the Roman *army* is meant, and then, spiritually, the army of Antichrist. In favour of the Roman army he appeals

to *Petrus apud Clementem*, but gives no quotation. Neither, I believe, of the existing works contains a passage which can have been here intended. The similarity in Rec. i. 39; Hom. iii. 15, both cited by Cotelier, is very faint. Another place cited by him, Rec. i. "65" (read 64), excludes the interpretation favoured in the *Opus Imperfectum* by containing the words "abominatio desolationis *statuetur* in loco sancto"; so that as in the former case we are driven to suppose the use of a different recension, whether of the Homilies or Recognitions, or a common basis of both.

In commenting on the same verse Origen, as represented by the Latin abridgement, does not refer to Clement, but he in like manner maintains the by no means obvious interpretation that the abomination of desolation meant the surrounding of Jerusalem by the army (p. 859 A, Ru.), but also spiritually Antichrist (p. 860). Thus he differs from *O. I.* only by saying nothing about an *army* of Antichrist, which may well be a connecting link supplied by the later writer. Setting the two commentaries together we may reasonably conjecture that Origen in his full Greek text supported his primary interpretation by the authority of Clement: but it is impossible to speak confidently.

The next two references belong to other verses of the same chapter of Matthew. At 946 b, c, *O. I.* interprets "flee to the mountains," in xxiv. 16, as "flee to

the Scriptures," as the only surviving test of the truth of faith, the testimony of signs being no longer available. Nay, *sicut Petrus apud Clementem exponit*, the power of "doing full signs" is to be given to Antichrist, "full" signs having been explained on a previous page (829 b, c, see below) as useful or beneficent signs. Now in Rec. iii. 60 it is said that the Evil One (malignus) cannot do beneficent signs; but this is not said of Antichrist. On the other hand Antichrist is mentioned in the next chapter (cf. Hom. ii. 17). Possibly the writer used a recension in which the doctrine of Antichrist was more fully developed; but comparison with another passage (951 a, B), to be shortly noticed, suggests that he has here confused Antichrist with the Evil One. On comparing the comment in *Op.* with that of Origen we find no correspondence here: Origen takes the "mountains" to be things spiritual as opposed to the oldness of the letter, and has just before made the "*holy place*" to be *Scripture*.

In the previous context *Op. Imp.* refers to the doctrine that true Divine signs are marked by *utilitas*, as having been already often expounded by him. It is laid down strongly and at great length in the passage referred to above (829 b, c, D, on Mt. vii. 16); and there flying through the air, making statues to walk, and mingling with fire without being burned, "*et alia qualia Simon fecit*," are given as examples of the "empty" and useless class of signs. There can be no reasonable doubt that the reference here is to

such notices of Simon's miracles as we read in Rec. iii. 59, 60; Hom. ii. 32—34: our present text of Rec. (not Hom.) omits the immunity from burning *in this* place, though it occurs in an earlier prediction put into Simon's mouth (ii. 9) and in Simon's own boast (iii. 47). Moreover since the same chapters in both Rec. and Hom. insist on the distinction of useful and useless miracles, it can hardly be doubted that, directly or indirectly, *Op. Imp.* derived the distinction from this source, though it does not supply the epithets "full" and "empty." The corresponding portion of Origen's Commentary is lost: but he likewise lays much stress on the contrast of beneficent and useless miracles elsewhere (c. Cels. 2. 51; 3. 28), and may therefore have done the same here on so tempting a text as "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Returning to the *Op. Imp.* on Mt. xxiv. we find the same subject resumed on v. 24 (951 a, A, B), the words "dabunt signa magna" being thus explained, "non inutilia neque vana quae ministri diaboli facere solent, sed Magna, id est utilia et plena, quae sancti facere solebant": that is, at the time here described false Christs and false prophets shall have the full powers hitherto possessed only by God's true servants, as is expounded in what follows. But here we have fresh terms, the useful signs being called "ex parte dextra" and the useless signs "ex parte sinistra." But at the end of time, we read, power is to be given

to the Devil, *sicut in historia Clementis Petrus exponit*, to do useful signs and "ex ea parte qua prius facere consueverant sancti." This exactly corresponds to the words of Rec. iii. 60, how that "in fine mundi" the Devil shall be allowed to "admiscere...aliqua etiam de *dextris signis*"; and the distinction of right and left in such matters belongs to the doctrine of Syzygies or Pairs laid down in both Rec. (iii. 55, 59—61), and Hom. (ii. 15—18, &c.). There is this difference, that according to the Rec. the result of this permission given to the Evil One will be that even those instructed in the discerning of spirits will be bewildered (*perturbari*) by the confusion in the indications given by signs, while according to the *Op. Imp.* Christ's servants will be known not by doing beneficent signs but by not doing these signs at all. Here too we seem to trace a difference of text.

On this verse of Matthew Origen has no similar comment. If *Op. Imp.* derived from him the reference to the Clementines, it must have occurred in another place.

The last reference in the *Op. Imp.* is on v. 42 of the same chapter (p. 957 b, c.) where appeal is made to the wisdom of *Petrus apud Clementem* for a simple remark on the duty of unceasingly thinking and speaking the things of God, and on the inability of the Evil One to find entrance to a mind so employed. The reference is doubtless to Rec. iii. 31 fin., though nothing is there said about speaking. Neither the

remark nor the reference occurs in what remains of Origen's commentary on the verse.

To sum up the evidence of *Op. Imp.*: it contains repeated references to Clementine passages, mostly answering to passages of our Rec. alone, once or twice to Rec. or Hom. indistinguishably, never quite clearly to Hom. alone. On the other hand, in most cases there is clear evidence that the book used was not actually identical with the Greek original of our Recognitions. Again, did it derive its Clementine references from Origen or not? In other words, is the book to which they refer a book current in the middle of the third century or one current at the end of the fourth century? It would be a great help if this question could be securely answered: but I am afraid we must say *Non liquet*. We have found one important place in which Origen and *Op. Imp.* refer to what is evidently the same passage in a text apparently identical, and certainly differing materially from the extant text, in association with the same by no means obviously relevant quotation from Daniel, although in comments on different parts of the Gospel, the corresponding parts in each commentary being lost. Since *Op. Imp.* certainly used Origen here, its use of the Clementine work here is not likely to have been independent. In another place we have found a Clementine reference accompanying an interpretation virtually identical with a very peculiar interpretation propounded by Origen on the same verse of

Matthew. In the context of three of the remaining references, though not in the references themselves, we find stress laid on a peculiar doctrine of signs common to Origen and to the Clementine literature. This is the evidence on the one side. On the other side it may be urged that twice we find the references in connexion with interpretations of Matthew differing from those given by Origen; and that once Origen is merely silent. The fact that *Op. Imp.* several times borrows materials from apocryphal books would be an argument for treating its use of the Clementine literature as independent, were it certain, as is often assumed, that its use of those other books was independent too. The truth is that Origen's huge commentary is not at all unlikely to have served as a quarry from which the author borrowed much that cannot now be verified as to its source. However this may be, the question as to the source of the Clementine references must remain an open one, though I confess I cannot but suspect that they are ultimately due to Origen alone.

Next to *Op. Imp.* we may take Jerome, a contemporary, we may safely say, of the author. We need not return to his second-hand notice of the supposed *Disputatio Petri et Appionis* in *Vir. Ill.* 15 (Clement). In the account of St Peter in the same treatise he speaks of a *Praedicatio* of St Peter, but only in the list translated with a single exception

The evidence of Jerome.

from Eusebius's list of St Peter's genuine and supposed writings. In his commentary on Gal. i. 18 (vii. 394 E Vall.) i.e. *Deinde post annos tres veni Hierosolymam videre Petrum*, not, he says, to look at his eyes, cheeks and face to see whether he were thin or plump, with a hooked nose or a straight, and whether hair clothed his brow or, *ut Clemens in Periodis ejus refert*, he had baldness on his head, and so he goes on. Here we have the *Περίοδοι* again and the particulars taken from them. St Peter's baldness is not mentioned in any of our extant literature. (Can it have been at Recog. iii. 42 *init.* or 71?) But who is the real authority for the quotations? Jerome was himself a man of wide reading, but he is also in his writings, and especially his commentaries, the most audacious of borrowers. We know by his own statement in the Preface that he made large use of Origen's ample commentary in this Commentary on Galatians, and internal evidence in every page confirms the fact, though three fragments alone remain of the elder work and that only in Latin. Now there is no clear sign of Origen's style in this passage, and the form given to it has every appearance of being Jerome's own. But, on the other hand, the remark was a very unlikely one to be suggested by the simple verb *videre*, which Jerome has in common with all other Latin texts but Tertullian (who has "cognoscendi"), whereas it might quite naturally have been suggested by St Paul's own Greek word, *ἱστορῆσαι*. *Ἰστορέω*,

properly to investigate, is often used of looking closely at an object either for curiosity or for study: it so happens that the Homilies contain several instances of this sense of scrutinising persons (i. 9; viii. 1; viii. 24 bis; xii. 23). We may therefore safely conclude that the remark was originally made in Greek, not Latin, and therefore came from one of Jerome's Greek sources; and the source probably was Origen [since he quotes the *Periodi* in a passage undoubtedly his own].

Again *Adv. Jovin.* i. 26 (ii. 278 B) Jerome, in endeavouring to get rid of the argument against celibacy derived from married¹ apostles, puts forward as an alternative suggestion that St Peter at the time of his conversion may have had his wife's mother still living but not his wife, adding "*quamquam legatur in περιόδοις et uxor ejus et filia.*" Now Peter's wife appears distinctly as a personage in Rec. vii. 25, 36; Hom. xiii. 1, 11; but nothing is said of a daughter; and the proof of her presence in the original text which Hilgenfeld² tries to extract from the difficulty of making the number of 20 persons present as mentioned in Rec. v. 36; Hom. x. 26 is very precarious. Clem. Al. (*Str.* 3. 52 p. 535) and Epiph. (30. 22 p. 147 A) speak vaguely of Peter having children. There are traces of more definite legend elsewhere³.

¹ On names of Peter's wife see Grabe *Sp.* i. 330.

² Clem. R. and H. 176; N. T. c. Can. iv. 52 n. 3. Ed. 2, 1884.

³ Acta Ner. et Act. May 12 (Lips. *Petrussage* 112) also May 31. viii. 413 ff.

Augustine speaks¹ of apocryphal writings read by Manicheans in which at St Peter's prayer his own daughter was said to have been stricken with palsy, and a gardener's daughter to have fallen dead. The former incident reappears in the legend of Petronilla, whose martyrdom is celebrated by Roman martyrologies² on May 30 or 31, and who is called a daughter of St Peter, though Roman critics assume that daughtership in the faith alone was meant. The story is mixed up with other legendary Acts of Martyrdoms which contain material likewise derived from the Encratite Apocryphal literature. There is, as far as I am aware, no evidence associating them with the Clementine literature. But it does not follow that the Petronilla of the Encratite Acts was the subject of Jerome's remark, and there is no evidence that these or any kindred Acts were known to him. There is at all events³ no sufficient reason for doubting that Jerome refers to the same *Περίοδοι* here as in the other place, that is, to the Clementine *Περίοδοι*. Whether he took the reference from Origen must remain doubtful: but it is at least worth notice that his argument begins with a recitation of Matt. xix. 27, 29, which he interprets to mean that St Peter on his conversion abandoned his wife (so also *Ep.* 118, 4 f. i. 795 D, where he refers to his leaving the

¹ *c. Adim.* 17. 5, t. 8, p. 245 B.

² *Martyrol. Rom.* ed. Baronio p. 241; *Vet. Occ. Eccl. Mart.* Florentini p. 561.

³ Against Zahn *Acta Jo.* lxxvii.

nets, Matt. iv. 20); and that this very interpretation is put forward as probable (εἰκός) in the extant condensation of Origen's commentary¹ on Matt. xix. 27, together with a reference to the other passage (Mt. iv. 20), while he throws out a conjecture (στοχάζομαιτο δ' ἂν τις) that he likewise abandoned children. In such a context he might naturally just mention the statement in the *Περίοδοι* as of no authority, just as Jerome adds, quite in Origen's usual strain, "sed nunc nobis de Canone omne certamen est."

Jerome's name leads us naturally to that of his *Evidence of Rufinus.* friend and victim Rufinus. We have already examined the titles occurring in his translation of the alleged Epistle of Clement, and in his own Preface to his translation of the *Recognitions*. That Preface however contains other matter which requires attention now. I mentioned the bare fact of his noticing two *editiones* of what he called *Recognitions*. He adds that there are two volumes or collections of books (*corpora librorum* = *βιβλίων τεύχη*, Phot.) in some points different, but in many respects containing the same record (*narrationis*). "Finally, the last part of this work," he says, "in which the transformation of Simon is treated of, is included in one collection (*corpore*), but is entirely absent (*penitus non habetur*) from the other. There are moreover in both collections (*corporibus*) certain discussions *de ingenito*

¹ In Mat. tom. xv. c. 21, iii. 371 Lom.

Deo genitoque [i.e. *περὶ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου θεοῦ τοῦ τε γεννητοῦ*], and on some other matters, which to say the least have been beyond my understanding. These therefore, as being above my strength, I have chosen to leave for others rather than to publish imperfectly (*minus plena proferre*). But in the other parts we have taken pains, to the best of our power, to depart to no great extent (*ne...satis...discedere*) not only from the sense but even from the language and diction; and this circumstance renders the wording of the record, if less ornate, yet more faithful." This last statement is doubtless relatively true: that is, Rufinus may be assumed to have taken fewer liberties than usual. His remark on the passages *de ingenito Deo genitoque* will come before us again presently. The statement about the two works or collections cannot refer to the Recognitions and Homilies respectively. The *transformatio Simonis* can hardly be anything else than the transformation of Faustinianus into the likeness of Simon; and this incident is common to the Recognitions and the Homilies, being found in the last few chapters of each work. Apparently therefore one of the collections known to Rufinus broke off the story a little earlier, after the completion of the Recognition itself, i.e. practically at the end of Book ix. of our Recognitions: in the arrangement followed in our Homilies a large proportion of the whole (above $\frac{1}{4}$) would so be omitted, as the Recognition takes place at the end of Hom. xiv.

Besides this primary passage there remain two which we have not yet noticed in other works of Rufinus. In his *Liber de Adulteratione Librorum Origenis*, in support of his natural but unfounded theory that Origen's writings had been falsified by heretics, he appeals to other supposed instances of the same kind, the first being Clement of Rome. Clement, he says (vii. 620 f. Migne = xxv. 386, Lom.) "libros edidit qui [Graece] appellantur Ἀναγνωρισμός id est *Recognitio*." He specifies two doctrines, and refers to others, "quae ecclesiastica regula omnino recipit," as taught in them. Again in the postscript or *Peroratio* to his condensed and modified translation of Origen's *Comm. on Romans*¹ (iv. 689 Ru. = iv. 1294 Mi. = vii. 460 Lom.) he describes himself as hastening on to the fulfilment of the task urged upon him by Gaudentius, the translation of Clement's books *De Recognitione*, to which he proposes to affix his own name while retaining the author's "nam *Rufini Clemens* scribetur." Thus these two passages confirm the title *Recognitions* which we found in his Preface to Gaudentius, merely putting the word in the singular.

In connexion with the name of Rufinus, it is worth while to notice as an indication of interest in Clementine literature in the West, that the correspondence of Paulinus, eventually Bishop of Nola, a friend of the

*Paulinus
ad Ru-
finum.*

¹ [Cf. Robinson's *Philocalia*, p. xxxix.]

leading Western churchmen of the day, includes a letter to Rufinus (*Ep.* 46) which shews that Paulinus had himself attempted a translation of something of Clement's, which had led Rufinus to advise him to pay more attention to Greek literature, evidently in consequence of having made great mistakes. Paulinus writes very humbly, deferring to Rufinus' superior knowledge. There is nothing to shew what the work was. Had it been the *Recognitions*, as is commonly assumed, Rufinus would probably have made some allusion to it either in his own Preface to them or in the postscript to his *Origen on Romans*. Perhaps it was the alleged Epistle of Clement to James, and Paulinus's failure may have induced Rufinus to take up the pen himself: but we do not possess the Preface, with which Rufinus was tolerably sure to provide his translation of the Epistle, and that would be the natural place to find a reference to the interest shewn by Paulinus.

*Pseudo-
Atha-
nasius.*

Returning to Greek writers, we may cast a glance at a stray reference in a work of uncertain age and authorship, the *Disputation with an Arian*, wrongly attributed to Athanasius (c. 31, *Opp.* ii. 221 E). The Arian asks the Athanasian whether he had ever listened to Clemens, who followed Peter the apostle, demolishing such a doctrine, apparently that the Godhead is of composite nature (*συντίθεσθαι τὸ θεῖον*); on which the Athanasian, making no remark

as to the authority cited, simply repudiates the doctrine ascribed to him. The allusion is too vague either to be pronounced foreign to the existing works or to be fixed to any single passage of them; perhaps it may belong to Hom. xi. 22, represented in Rec. by vi. 7, where Rufinus's pruning knife may easily have been at work. The reference merely shews that the book could still be freely used in controversy.

The *Paschal Chronicle*, written about 630, twice refers to some Clementine report of St Peter's words for matters of patriarchal history. On the Deluge it says (p. 40, l. 14 Dind.) "Ὁθεν καὶ Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀφηγεῖται (expounds) Κλημῖν (sic) λέγων, introducing four lines full of close verbal agreements with Hom. viii. 17, with some differences¹. The sub-

*Chronicon
Paschale.*

¹ The passages referred to run as follows:

"Ὁθεν καὶ Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀφηγεῖται Κλημῖν λέγων "Ἐνί τινι δικαίῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ Νῶε σὺν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐν λάρνακι διασώζεσθαι προαγγέλλας ὕδωρ εἰς κατακλυσμὸν ἐπήγαγεν, ἵνα πάντων τῶν ἀκαθάρτων ὀλοθρευθέντων ὁ κόσμος καθαρισθῇ, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ λάρνακι διασωθεῖς εἰς δευτέραν περιουσίαν καθαρὸς ἀποδοθῇ. "Ὁμως καὶ τούτων γενομένων οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἤρξαντο ἀσεβεῖν. *Chron. Pas.* 109 B ed. Migne.

Τούτου δὴ ἔνεκεν ἐνί τινι δικαίῳ μετὰ τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τριῶν, σὺν ταῖς αὐτῶν γυναίξιν, ἅμα τοῖς υἱοῖς, ἐν λάρνακι διασώζεσθαι προαγγέλλας ὕδωρ εἰς κατακλυσμὸν ἐπέκλυσεν, ἵνα πάντων ἀναλωθέντων ὁ κόσμος κατεκκαθαρισθεὶς αὐτῷ τῷ ἐν λάρνακι διασωθέντι εἰς δευτέραν βίου ἀρχὴν καθαρὸς ἀποδοθῇ. Καὶ δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. *Hom.* viii. 17.

Invenit tamen et inter ipsos unum quendam cum domo sua iustum, quem reservaret praecepto ei dato, ut fabricaret arcam et in ea, cum diluvio cuncta necarentur, ipse cum his quibus praeceptum fuerat posset evadere, quo impiis inundatione aquarum peremtis purifica-

stance occurs also Rec. iv. 12, but with a totally different phrasing. On the other hand, a line follows which has no representative in Homilies, but stands almost verbatim in the same place in Rec. iv. 13; and that this line is really part of the quotation is proved by an express reference to it a few pages further on¹. Here it would seem that the *Paschal Chronicle* has approximately preserved the text of a Clementine work, the basis of both Homilies and Recognitions, Recognitions being apparently the innovator.

Again, at p. 50, l. 50 ff., the *Chronicle* says of Nimrod λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτου Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰς τὰ Κλημέντια...φησὶ γὰρ Πέτρος... and again at the end ταῦτα Πέτρος περὶ τούτου. Here², too, both our extant works have passages in some sense

tionem mundus acciperet et is, qui ad posteritatem generis fuerat reservatus, per aquam mundus effectus mundum denuo repararet.

c. 13. Sed his omnibus gestis rursus homines ad impietatem vertuntur.

Rec. iv. 12, 13.

¹ [The whole passage is worth quoting in view of the discussion that follows.

Ἐφευρετὴς γὰρ οὗτος [Μεσραεὶμ] ἐγένετο κακῆς διακονίας ἀστρολογίας καὶ μαγείας, ὃν καὶ Ζωροάστρην οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκάλεσαν. Τοῦτον ἤντικτο Πέτρος εἰπὼν ὅτι Μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν πάλιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀσεβεῖν ἤρξαντο. *Chron. Pas.* p. 49, l. 17 ff. Dind. 124 A B Migne.]

² The passages referred to run as follows:

Λέγει δὲ περὶ τούτου [Νεβρώδ] Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰς τὰ Κλημέντια πῶς ἤρξεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κληρωθεὶς· φησὶ γὰρ Πέτρος Οὗτος Νεβρώδ μετοικῆσας ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου εἰς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ οἰκῆσας εἰς Νῖνον πόλιν ἣν ἐκτίσεν Ἀσσοῦρ. Καὶ κτίσας τὴν πόλιν ἣτις ἦν Βαβυλῶνος πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως ἐκάλεσεν. Αὐτὸν Νῖνον τὸν Νεβρώδ οἱ Ἀσσίριοι προσηγόρεονσαν. Οὗτος διδάσκει Ἀσσυρίους σεβεῖν τὸ πῦρ. Ἐνθεν καὶ πρῶτον

parallel; but it is quite impossible that the *Chronicle* can have used either of our present texts. In the

αὐτὸν βασιλέα μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι τοῦτον, ὃν μετωνόμασαν Νίνον. Ταῦτα Πέτρος περὶ τούτου.

Chron. Pas. 125 A Migne.

Ex quibus (sc. filiis Noe) unus Cham nomine cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim appellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ducitur genus, male compertam magicæ artis tradidit disciplinam; hunc gentes quæ tunc erant Zoroastrem appellaverunt, admirantes primum magicæ artis auctorem, cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur. Hic ergo astris multum et frequenter intentus, et volens apud homines videri deus, velut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur, cupiensque augere de se huiusmodi opinionem saepius ista moliebatur usquequo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat, igni succensus concremaretur.

28. Sed stulti homines qui tunc erant, cum debuissent utique opinionem, quam de eo conceperant abiicere, quippe quam poenali morte eius viderant confutatam, in maius eum extollunt. Extructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius, tanquam amicum dei ac fulminis ad coelum vehiculo sublevatum, adorare ausi sunt et quasi vivens astrum colere. Hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est vivum sidus appellatum est ab his, qui post unam generationem Græcæ linguae loquela fuerant repleti. Hoc denique exemplo etiamnunc multi eos qui fulmine obierint, sepulcris honoratos tanquam amicos dei colunt. Hic ergo, cum quartadecima generatione coepisset, quinta-decima defunctus est, in qua turris aedificata est et linguae hominum multipliciter divisæ sunt.

29. Inter quos primus magica nihilominus arte quasi corusco ad eum delata rex appellatur quidam Nemrod, quem et ipsum Græci Ninum vocaverunt, ex cuius nomine Ninive civitas vocabulum sumsit. Sic ergo diversæ et erraticæ superstitiones ab arte magica initium sumserunt. Etenim, quoniam difficile erat humanum genus ab amore dei abstrahi et ad surda atque exanima simulacra deduci, idcirco excelsioribus usi sunt magi molitionibus, ut astrorum signis ac motibus tanquam coelitus et voluntate dei delatis ad suadendos cultus erraticos verterentur. Et eius, quem supra diximus (c. 27) indignatione daemonis, cui nimis molestus fuerat, conflagrasse, busti cineres tanquam fulminei

Recognitions (iv. 27 f.) we have first an account of Ham's son Mizraim, who is identified with Zoroaster; and then (iv. 29) of Nimrod, identified with the Ninus of the Greeks. In the Hom. (ix. 3—5) there is a confusion, not Mizraim but Nimrod being identified with Zoroaster, and what is said of Zoroaster being transferred to him. The extract in the *Chronicle* answers to the second stage in the account given by Recognitions, and is silent¹ about Zoroaster. It seems to be the full exposition of what is briefly set forth

ignis reliquias colligentes hi, qui erant primitus decepti, deferunt ad Persas, ut ab eis tanquam divinus e coelo lapsus ignis perpetuis conservaretur excubiis atque ut coelestis deus coleretur.

Rec. iv. 27.—29.

Ἦν εἰς τις ἀπὸ γένους ὧν Χάμ, τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὸν Μεστρέμ (ν. 1. Μεστράμ), ἐξ οὐπερ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπλήθυνε φύλα.

4. Ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου γίνεται τις κατὰ διαδοχὴν μαγικὰ παρρηλικῶς, ὀνόματι Νεβρώδ, ὥσπερ γίγας ἐναντία τῷ Θεῷ φρονεῖν ἐλόμενος, διὸ οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωροάστρην προσηγόρευσαν. Οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς, καὶ μέγας ὧν μάγος, τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὠροσκοποῦντα κόσμον ἀστέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας ὁδοῖν μαγικαῖς ἠνάγκαζε τέχναις. Ὁ δέ, ἅτε δὴ ἀρχων ὧν καὶ τοῦ βιαζομένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, μετ' ὀργῆς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσέχει πῦρ, ἵνα πρὸς τε τὸν ὀρκισμὸν εὐγνωμονήσῃ καὶ τὸν πρῶτως ἀναγκάσαντα τιμωρήσῃται.

5. Ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ πεσοῦσης ἀστραπῆς ὁ μάγος ἀναιρεθεὶς Νεβρώδ ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος πράγματος Ζωροάστῃς μετωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν. Οἱ δὲ ἀνθρώποι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς θεὸν φιλίαν κεραυνῷ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν νομίσαντες, τοῦ σώματος τὸ λείψανον κατορύξαντες, τὸν μὲν τάφον ναῶν ἐτίμησαν ἐν Ἠέρσαις, ἐνθα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς καταφορὰ γέγονεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐθρήσκυσαν. τούτῳ τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐκείσε τοὺς κεραυνῷ θνήσκοντας ὡς θεοφιλεῖς θάπτοντες ναοὺς τιμῶσιν, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἰδίῳ μορφῶν ἱστάσιν ἀγάλματα. *Hom. ix. 3—5.*

¹ [Yet see note 1, p. 58.]

in Recognitions, though not quite identically : but the text is corrupt. Here, again, we seem to be touching a common original, from which in this case the Homilies has departed the more widely.

Passing over some extracts, which will be more conveniently considered together a little further on, we go on two centuries forward, to the full and important account written by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, Nos. 112, 113. This book consists of his notes on the books which he read on an embassy to Assyria. He usually describes the contents at greater or less length, comments on the doctrine and on the purity or impurity of Greek style, and adds supplementary illustrations about the author or his works. *The evidence of Photius.*

He begins here by saying that he read two volumes of books (τεύχη βιβλίων δύο) by Clement of Rome, the one Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος (which we may pass over), the other has for its dedication as it were a letter addressed to James τὸν ἀδελφόμενον. In it are contained (ἐν ᾧ) what are called the Acts of Peter (Πέτρου πράξεις) and the disputations (διαλέξεις) with Simon Magus, and further the Recognition (ἀναγνωρισμός) of Clement and his father and his brothers. For which reason in some of the books or copies (ἐν τισι τῶν βιβλίων) the title inscribed is Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἀναγνωρισμός.

“ But in some, as we said, a letter is prefixed as addressed to James, and this epistle not an identical

one nor purporting to come from the same person ; but in some copies (ἐπὶ μὲν τινων βιβλίων) as written (ἐπεσταλμένη) from Peter the Apostle to James, but in others as from Clement to James, two different epistles (ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη), as we said before. And the one signifies (δηλοῖ) that Peter wrote an account of his own Acts (τὰς οἰκείας συγγράψασθαι πράξεις) and sent them to James, who had asked for them : while the other states (διαλαμβάνει) that Clement wrote them at Peter's command, and that when he had migrated to the life that knows no old age Clement sent them to James.

"We may therefore conjecture that there were two editions made of the Acts of Peter, but in course of time the one perished (διαρρύνεισης) and that of Clement prevailed. For in all the copies (βιβλίοις) which we have seen, and they are not a few, after those different epistles and titles we found without variation (ἰσοπαραλλάκτως) the same treatise (πραγματεῖαν), beginning 'Εγὼ Κλήμης and what follows.

"Now this treatise teems with countless absurdities (ἀτοπημάτων), and is full of the Arian blasphemy against the Son. But as for the Constitutions, they apparently are subject to only three objections (which he specifies). Nevertheless the Book of the Acts of Peter in the brightness and dignity, and further the purity and vigour, and the other excellences of its language and its learning (πολυμαθεία), is so widely distinguished from the Constitutions that the books

do not admit of being compared together as regards their language."

The few remaining supplementary lines merely condense what Eusebius has to say about Clement and his writings, though without naming the authority. It is in these lines that the mention of the supposed Dialogues with Appion occurs.

I have thought it best to set forth Photius's report in his own words without interruptive comment. But it is necessary to sum up as clearly as possible the data which can be definitely ascertained from him, positively and negatively.

Photius had seen altogether "not a few" copies of the work in question. They differed in two respects, which he carefully distinguishes (90 *a* 31), in titles and in prefixed epistles.

On the titles his words are a little ambiguous. They would bear the sense often put upon them, that the work as a whole consisted of three successive parts, Acts of Peter, Disputations of Peter with Simon Magus, and the Recognition of Clement the Roman. But, unless the work were something quite unlike anything of which we have any knowledge, no division of parts could be less natural. Peter's Acts do not occupy the first part more than the rest, or the Disputations with Simon the middle part more than the rest. The first book of the Recognition and the first Homily may indeed be called an introduction to the Disputations with Simon : but then, taken by

themselves, as such a division would require, they have less right to be called "Acts of Peter" than any other part of the work. And, again, though the actual Recognition does come near the end, the preparation for it comes long before, and the end would be unintelligible as a separate book. On the other hand, Photius's words can as legitimately bear what seems to be the only reasonable meaning, that the three phrases represent, not three successive parts, but three elements, as it were, or classes of contents, approximately common to the whole work; and that these three classes of contents answer to three different titles of the whole book: that is, each title was, from one point of view, a true description of the whole. At first sight doubt is thrown on this interpretation by the fact that Photius distinctly speaks of *Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥωμαίου ἀναγνωρισμός* as a title in some copies, which might lead to the inference that the same could not be said of the other titles. But this exceptional notice was required because in this case alone the title had just been expanded into a detailed description for the sake of explaining the enigmatical word "Recognition," whereas in the other cases title and description were identical. Moreover, the simple phrase *ἡ ἐπιγραφή* would be inappropriate if the intention were to contrast the title of the whole with the titles of parts. We may therefore conclude that Photius had seen the work sometimes called Acts of Peter, sometimes Disputations with Simon

Magus, and sometimes the Recognition of Clement of Rome. 'Acts of Peter' is the title which Photius himself gives to the whole book several times over (l. 22, 27, 41).

So much for the titles. What we learn about the Epistles is that some copies had no epistle prefixed, others had an epistle of Peter to James, introducing his own Acts; others an Epistle of Clement to James, introducing them as written by himself and now sent after Peter's death by Peter's orders. Nothing is said of copies containing both epistles. There is no sign that the differences of title and of epistle were connected together.

Lastly, as regards the work itself, Photius found no difference between the copies, such e.g. as Rufinus notices between the two 'editiones' used by him, or as we see between our Recognitions and our Homilies. And all that is said would suit equally the Recognitions and the Homilies. He says distinctly "After the Epistles and Titles τὴν αὐτὴν εὗρομεν ἀπαλλάκτως πραγματείαν, ἀρχομένην Ἐγὼ Κλήμης," and these are the first words of Recognitions and of Homilies alike.

The next class of patristic authorities which claims attention consists of the lists of rejected or apocryphal writings. The earliest of these is the famous *Decretum Gelasianum*, which occurs in various collections of Canons and similar documents. It is variously

*Decretum
Gelasia-
num.*

attributed to Damasus, Pope from 366 to 384, Gelasius, Pope about a century later, 492—496, and Hormisdas, Pope a quarter of a century later still, 514—523. After various discussions (specially by Credner *sur Gesch. d. Kanons*, 151—290), the true date and history of this letter, rightly called the first *Index librorum prohibitorum*, have as yet not been clearly settled. Hilgenfeld (*Einkl. in d. N.T.*, 1875, 130 ff.) still defends the authorship of Damasus as regards the original form of the letter. On the whole, it seems safest to take Gelasius provisionally as the author: the list will thus shew what books were considered dangerous at Rome towards the end of the fifth century. The sixth chapter begins (p. 213, Credner) "Caetera quae ab haereticis sive schismaticis conscripta vel praedicata sunt, nullatenus recipit catholica et apostolica Romana ecclesia, e quibus pauca quae ad memoriam venerunt et a catholicis vitanda sunt credimus esse subdenda." The second article in the list that follows is "Itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli quod appellatur Sancti Clementis...libri numero (x—viii—viii) Apocryphum". Each¹ of the three numbers, 8, 9, 10, has authority among the older MSS., and the true text cannot yet be determined; but if x. was the original number it is difficult to see how viii. or viiii. could get in. Then follows a long series of apocryphal Acts, Gospels, and Apocalypses and

¹ See the MSS. in Thiel, *Epist. Pont. Rom.*, p. 462, where the Decretum is Ep. 42. Cf. Maassen, 239 f., 283.

similar works. Whether the book itself was actually known, or, like some other books condemned in the list, was condemned on the authority of some previous writer, cannot be determined. It is worth notice that the name used is *Itinerarium*, i.e. the title given in the *Ep. Clem.*, not *Recognitiones*; and also that in the previous chapter (p. 210) "Ruffinus vir religiosus," who wrote many books "nonnullas etiam scripturas interpretatus est," is mentioned as to be read, but with the caution that Jerome's condemnation of his language on free will is ratified.

Next we may take a Greek list of canonical and apocryphal books which goes under the name of Anastasius of Sinai, a writer of the seventh century. List found
in MSS. of
Anasta-
sius of
Sinai. In one or more MSS. it is appended to, or at least follows, the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius, but apparently not in others, and there is no tangible evidence that it is connected with them. Both author and age are unknown: but one of the MSS. containing it (*Coisl.* 120) is referred by Montfaucon to the early part of the tenth century (pp. 192 ff.), so that it cannot well be later than the ninth century, and may be much earlier. It enumerates first the 60 books of the Canon, then those which are "outside the 60," i.e. our O.T. Apocrypha, and then καὶ ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα, beginning with 14 apocryphal writings connected with O.T. names, after which come 15 Ἰακώβου ἱστορία [the miscalled Protevangelium Jacobi]; 16 Πέτρου ἀνακάλυψις; 17 Περίοδοι καὶ διδασκαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων; 18

Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή; 19 Παύλου πράξεις; 20 Παύλου ἀποκάλυψις; 21 Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος, and four more follow. Here the *περίοδοι καὶ διδαχαὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων* seem to be the Encratite Circuits; and if so, the *Διδασκαλία Κλήμεντος* can hardly be anything but either Recognitions or Homilies, or a cognate work, though the title seems to be unique.

*The list
at the end
of the
Chrono-
graphy of
Nice-
phorus.*

The next list to be mentioned is that which bears the name of Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople early in the ninth century. It occurs at the end of a Compendium of Chronography formed chiefly of lists of patriarchs and emperors. Some two centuries ago Bishop Pearson in his *Vind. Ign.* (Pars I., c. 4, pp. 123—125 Chu.) argued that the list of books was no part of the genuine work of Nicephorus, appealing among other things to its absence from the Oxford MS. In later times it has, however, been usually treated as genuine. The whole Chronography was edited afresh by Credner in two Giessen programmes of 1832 and 1838, and the list of books was specially re-edited and critically examined by him in one of his valuable essays *Zur Gesch. d. Kanons*, published in 1847. But in the preface to an edition of Nicephorus's historical tracts, published in the Teubner series in 1880, De Boor shewed by a comparison of the contents and texts of ten MSS. that the Chronography is extant in both a shorter and a longer form, the latter of which alone in-

cludes the list of books ; that the shorter form alone can be the work of Nicephorus ; but that the longer form was followed in the Latin version made by Anastasius in the same century. He also points out that there is fair reason for fixing on Jerusalem as the place where the alterations and additions were made. On the other hand Credner shewed conclusively that the list of books cannot have originated in the ninth century. It must have been formed in the fourth or fifth century, probably in some part of Syria ; and this harmonises with De Boor's independent contention that it comes to light first at Jerusalem. It falls into three pairs of divisions, Canonical Books of O. and N.T., Antilegomena of O. and N.T., and ἀπόκρυφα of O. and N.T. In most cases the number of lines or στίχοι, according to one of the standard measures of Greek scribes, is noted.

The Antilegomena of the N.T. in this list are four, Apocalypse of John, Apocalypse of Peter, Epistle of Barnabas, and Gospel according to Hebrews. The Apocrypha of the N.T. are in the Greek numbered as seven, but practically are more. The first in Greek is Περίοδοι Πέτρου (not Περίοδος, as commonly printed), rendered by Anastasius *Itinerarium Petri* : but he prefixes an *Itinerarium Pauli* ; then come the Περίοδος of John, the Περίοδος of Thomas, the Gospel according to Thomas, the Διδαχὴ ἀποστόλων ; then sixth Κλήμεντος, and seventh Ignatius, Polycarp, the Shepherd and Hermas. After Clement's name stand the

letters AB in most MSS., and they are supported by some MSS. of Anastasius which read XXXII., while others apparently omit the numeral. There has been much discussion as to what this numeral could mean: on the supposition that some part of Clementine literature was meant, it was impossible to make up so large a number of parts of writings. Pearson conjectured (*ib.*, p. 130) that A was a corruption of Λ , a corruption very common and easy in uncial writing, so that the meaning was simply I, II, *i.e.* the two well-known Epistles bearing Clement's name. Subsequently this reading was published from the Coislinian MS. (132; Montfaucon, *B. Coisl.*, p. 205), and it has been adopted, certainly rightly, by Credner (*Zur Gesch.*, 130 ff.) and Dr Lightfoot (*Ign.* I. 196). Accordingly we may at once dismiss the article on Clement as irrelevant to our purpose. What then is to be said about the $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\delta\omicron\iota \Pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omicron\upsilon$, a title in tempting agreement with [Origen's] designation? If it stood alone, the identification would be reasonable: but the other $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\delta\omicron\iota$ with which it is associated lead to a different conclusion, and the difference between $-\omicron\iota$ and $-\omicron\varsigma$ is insufficient to shew a difference of character and origin. The Encratite Apocryphal Acts connected with the name of Leucius Charius were commonly called $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\delta\omicron\iota$, and among the various apostles whose names they took, St Peter has a place, though it occurs less frequently than that of others, as St John or St Thomas. In the seventh

century John of Thessalonica¹ refers to these *Περίοδοι* of Peter and Paul and Andrew and John; and Photius in the chapter of his *Bibliotheca* (114) following that on the Clementines, describes αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων Περίοδοι, ἐν αἷς περιείχοντο πράξεις Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀνδρέα, Θωμᾶ, Παύλου. Even, therefore, if Anastasius had no authority for prefixing *Itinèrarium Pauli*, which could not be the work of a Judaising sect, and which would, as it were, shut in the *Περίοδοι Πέτρου*, it may be safely concluded that here the Encratite Circuits of Peter are intended².

Thus in both places the Jerusalem list appended to Nicephorus's *Chronography* must be pronounced silent on Clementine literature.

Not so, however, a document which Credner has proved to be founded upon it, but which is conventionally associated with a much higher antiquity, the Synopsis attributed to Athanasius, and printed for form's sake with his works (ii. 202 Montf.) from the only known MS. In the account of the canonical books the genuine and well-known Festal Epistle of Athanasius has helped the writer, but here he follows the Jerusalem list alone. In copying, however, he, or a previous scribe, has made a curious omission by

The Synopsis of "Athanasius."

¹ Jo. Thess. *In dormit. Deipanz*, ap. Max Bonnet in Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wiss. Th.*, 1880, p. 239.

² Under the name of *Actus Petri* they occur in several Latin writers from the fourth century onwards. See Zahn, *Act. Joh.* lxxv, who however (lxxviii; also *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1880. 30, p. 1226, cited by Lips. i. p. 71) disputes their originally Leucianic character. See also Lipsius *passim*.

Homœoteleuton, prefixing the heading of N.T. Antilegomena to the actual list of N.T. Apocrypha. In this list the first five names stand unchanged, including the Περίοδοι Πέτρου, but the sixth has undergone a remarkable change. Instead of Κλήμεντος ΑΒ (or ΔΒ) we have Κλημέντια ἐξ ὧν μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα, and moreover the seventh disappears. The author was unwilling to seem to disparage Clement or Ignatius or Polycarp or Hermas. But he knew of another work bearing Clement's name which he thought might well be disparaged: so substitutes Κλημέντια, the Clementines, *i.e.* our Homilies or Recognitions, probably our Homilies, with a remark intended to save the credit of an expurgated recension. It is worth notice that he does not speak of this orthodox recension as the Clementines prior to interpolation, but as the Clementines with the interpolations removed¹.

'Florilegia'
and later
Chroni-
clers.

This last piece of evidence leads us to a group of Eastern testimonies which do not need minute examination. They fall practically under two heads, Florilegia and Histories. The former consist of collections of passages from the Bible and from ecclesiastical and sometimes classical writers, arranged under heads by subjects. Some of them differ much

¹ Credner (*Zur Gesch.* 131 ff.) assumed the expurgated Apost. Const. to be intended, referring to a canon of the Synod in Trullo of 692. But there is, I believe, no evidence that the Const. Apost. were ever called Κλημέντια, and at all events the description better suits Clementine literature proper.

in different MSS., and by their nature they were peculiarly liable to interpolation. Their literary history and the true date of their component parts are to a great extent still uncertain. The earliest with which we are concerned are the *Sermones per Excerpta* of Maximus Confessor, of about the middle of the seventh century; then come, hardly later, the *Quaestiones* of Anastasius Sinaita; then the *Parallela Rupefucaldina* attributed to John of Damascus, as yet but imperfectly published. These contain passages manifestly derived ultimately from our Homilies, but with systematic changes which shew their immediate source to have been an expurgated recension of the Homilies. One of the passages excerpted in the *Parallela Rupefucaldina* is quoted from Recog. iii. 26 with tolerable exactness under the reference *ἐκ τοῦ ἀλόγου τῶν Περιόδων*. This gives us the name *Περίοδοι*, with a different division from ours, but as the Syriac has it, with the Cæsarea portion all together. Whether, however, this was the source of the other quotation in *Parallela Rupef.* we cannot tell [Hom. xii. 25 ff., &c.]. There are quotations from the Homilies, under the name *τὰ Κλημένα* in a similar work attributed to 1060, the *Pandecta Interpretationis* of Nicon Monachus the younger. But neither quotation nor original text is yet in print; so that we do not know whether the genuine or the expurgated Homilies were used. The latter at all events was evidently in the hands of the Chroniclers, John Cedrenus of the

eleventh century and Michael Glycas of the thirteenth century; and further in the fourteenth century of Nicephorus Callisti, the author of a really remarkable Church History, based in the early part on Eusebius, but curiously filled in from the legendary sources which had come to be received as of equal or greater authority. (For the Roman legend see ii. 27.) After describing (iii. 18) Clement's life as drawn in the Clementine literature, and the fables subsequently appended, he notices his writings as enumerated by Eusebius. When he comes to the supposed Dialogues of Peter and Appion, he speculates about their identity with τὰ νῦν παρ' ἡμῶν Κλημέντια ὀνομαζόμενα, which he calls "acceptable to the Church," τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ εὐπαρίδεκτα, while the writings noticed by Eusebius were not of an apostolic type of doctrine. Evidently he knew only the expurgated recension. Such also was doubtless the case of the writer of a note (? contemporaneous) in the Mazarine MS. (century x.) of Eusebius 338, as cited by Valois, "What hast thou to do with the dialogues of the sacred Clement? how great is the profit contained in them is well-known to those who have read them with an orthodox and pure mind. Have done with thy revilings, O thou very learned man; for no one of the Church of God will believe thee at all"; and so forth.

It would seem that the name Κλημέντια belonged to the expurgated recension thus chiefly current in

later times; but it was evidently transferred from the more original recension.

It only remains to say a word about the history of the Recognitions as translated by Rufinus. They are mentioned by Gennadius of Marseilles (who died in 496, the continuator of Jerome *De Vir. Ill.*) in the by no means complete list of translations in his chapter on Rufinus. He calls them *Clementis Romani Recognitionum Libros*. The next, the sixth century, is probably the time when the earlier Latin legendary histories of apostles and apostolic men were formed by free translation, with enormous expurgation, from the Encratite and cognate Greek literature. The Life of St Peter in the histories which conventionally bear the name of Abdias incorporated considerable extracts from the Latin Recognitions, but without naming them. In the seventh century Isidore of Seville quotes '*Clemens*' two or three times from the same source, but without naming¹ the book. Crossing the Channel we find in the latter part of the same century Aldhelm, the first considerable English writer, quoting the opening words of the *Itinerarium Petri* in praise of virginity. His education came from such various sources that we cannot trace the probable channel by which the book reached him. In the next generation it is several times quoted by Bede: the only name he gives it is *Historia Clementis*. Returning to the

The History of Rufinus' translation.

¹ [See note on p. 23.]

France of early Carolingian times we see it to have been used by at least three notable men, Agobard of Lyons, Freulf of Lisieux, and Hincmar of Rheims, the last of whom alone names it as *Petri Itinerarium*. Agobard refers to the books of Clement as being judged apocryphal: yet, he adds, "very many 'testimonia' taken from them are found used by the doctors." These are the most important references. They all come from Spain, France, or Britain, and from a time before the true Middle Ages. At a later time the Gelasian Decretal may have thrown the book into obscurity, though the extant copies shew that it was not without readers.

*Summary
of the
Patristic
evidence.*

If we now look back over the long line of patristic testimonies several points come out clearly. The list of names is a long one, but they are very scattered, and it does not include the names of many of the most important writers. It would seem that the Clementine literature here and there came into slight and cursory contact with the main stream of theological literature, but hardly more. The writers who clearly shew a knowledge of more works than one (excluding the letters) are four: and in no case does it seem likely that the Recognitions and Homilies were the two works known. Rufinus knew of two *editiones*, both apparently (though this is not certain) called Recognitions, but they chiefly differed by the point at which they ended. Epiphanius, the author of the *Ps.-Ath.*

list of books founded on the Jerusalem list, and Nicephorus the historian, knew of a heretical and an orthodox recension of a book apparently called *Κλημέντια*, which in the one form may be identified with our Homilies. The Epistle of Clement was known to Rufinus and Photius, the Epistle of Peter to Photius alone. There was no clear appropriation of individual Epistles to individual works.

Without attempting to follow out all the intricacies of the titles, we may notice some important facts respecting them. Speaking generally and roughly, the name of Peter prevails in the earlier times, that of Clement in the later, that is, the reference of the book to its professed author prevailed over its reference to its professed subject. The name *Πέτρου κηρύγματα*, very familiar in modern Clementine criticism, is in strictness confined to the *Epistola Petri* and *Διαμαρτυρία*. The most interesting references occur for the most part under the name *Περίοδοι (Πέτρου)* [beginning with the earliest and by far the longest quotation, that from Origen on Genesis]. Then come the two references in Jerome, both, as we saw, very possibly derived from Origen. But we have the same name quite independently in Epiphanius, and doubtless also in the *Parallela Rupefucaldina*, and it is included in the title of some MSS. of the Epitome, *πράξεις καὶ Περίοδοι Πέτρου*. It is further worth notice that the formula of quotation in the other undoubted reference by Origen is *Petrus apud Clementem*, and that the

same is the usual formula in the *Opus Imperf.*, where we found the same general relations to the extant works. The only Greek authority for the name Recognitions is Photius's third title. It is from Rufinus and the readers of Rufinus's translation that it has become familiar. The name Homilies is never used as a title: it comes only from one or both MSS. of our Homilies, where it has no more distinctive meaning than 'Books.' The name Κλημέντια is by the *Chr. Pasch.* applied to a work having matter in common with both our books: in the Middle Ages it meant one or other recension of the Homilies. *Clementina* is, I believe, only a modern rendering of it.

The Syriac Version.

A natural appendix to the patristic evidence will be a short account of the structure of the Syriac version, so far as the two existing MSS. shew. The most interesting fact about it is the testimony which it bears to the separate use of a part of our Recognitions, viz. the first three books (with a few words of iv. 1), which happen also to correspond as a whole to the first three of our Homilies. The subject is the Disputations at Cæsarea with the Introductory portion. Thus the Disputations at Tripolis and Laodicea, with the intermediate journey through Syria, are wanting. In the younger MS. this is the whole; and the limitation is not accidental, for at the

end is the colophon or epigraph, "Here ends the history of Clement the companion of Simon Peter." In the elder MS., said to be the oldest of dated MSS., this portion is numbered I., and divided into 303 short chapters, with the concise title "Clemens." There is, strange to say, no Part II., Part I. being immediately followed by the heading "III., against the Gentiles," consisting of our Homily x., then IV. (the numeral alone) equals Hom. xi. Then comes an unnumbered Part headed "Of (or from) Tripolis in Phœnicia," divided into six chapters. It consists of Hom. xii. 1—24 and the whole of Hom. xiii., the last nine chapters of Hom. xii. (25—33) being omitted. And this omission derives considerable interest from its relation to the nature of the correspondence hereabouts between Homilies and Recognitions. Up to just this point in Hom. xii. the Recognitions run parallel with it, but here they break off suddenly, having nothing answering to the rest of the Homily: while they join company again at the beginning of the next Homily. Thus, though the Syriac follows the Homilies text, it follows the Recognitions in this large omission, and Lagarde hints that the text itself immediately afterwards has affinities to that of the Recognitions (p. vii., note). Last comes what is called Discourse Fourteenth, divided into two long chapters, and consisting of Hom. xiv. And so the Syriac ends, Homs. xv—xx. being altogether omitted. A stranger medley of incongruous divisions can hardly be ima-

gined. There is much in it which remains hopelessly obscure without further evidence: but at least one coincidence is remarkable. We have already noticed that while the actual Recognition takes place in the work which we call the Recognitions, but one book from the end, in the Homilies it takes place six Homilies from the end. It follows that the point in the story where the Syriac ends is also the point in the story where, as well as we can judge, one of the two 'editiones' known to Rufinus ended. But this one point of correspondence would not justify us in assuming that the 'editio' in question contained the Homilies' text rather than the Recognitions' text.

Conclusions.

*Rec. and
Hom. exist
side by side
in Cent. iv.*

It will be worth while now, at the end of the long and rather tedious enumeration of authorities, to endeavour to extract from the survey what evidence we can as to the origin and relationships of the various members of the Clementine literature. We must take our stand first at the end of the fourth century. At that time, as the Latin and the Syriac versions sufficiently attest, the Greek Recognitions and the Greek Homilies were both in existence. Both also underwent some kind of expurgation or adaptation to the use of men of a different creed from their authors. Whether there was a Greek expurgation of the Recognitions we do not know: but a process of this

kind, though a mild one, was included in Rufinus's translation; and unfortunately it is only through this partial disguise that we can read the Recognitions. On the other hand the Homilies underwent what was evidently a much more thorough expurgation in Greek. The chief evidence for it comes from a much later time, but, as we saw, it was virtually implied in the inverse charge brought by Epiphanius against the Ebionites of falsifying the pure record of Clement. In this instance however it is the adapted or mutilated text that has perished.

Next let us compare together the various results which we have obtained by comparing the quotations or references independent of the purified Clementines with the two existing texts. We have found comparatively little exact agreement with either extant text. In most cases the text found has shewn close affinities with the Recognitions but with marked differences, usually on the side of greater fulness or detail. In other cases there has been little or no accord with either work. The only writers in whom we have found coincidences with the Homilies and not at the same time with the Recognitions are, I think, Epiphanius and the *Chronicon Paschale*. In the latter case there were likewise as distinct coincidences with the Recognitions, the characteristic language of both being combined, but other language being also present. That the Chronicler himself made the combination is

*Both derived from
a common
original.*

incredible. The only reasonable alternatives are that the book which he calls Κλημέντια was itself a combination of both texts, or that it was a common source of both. That both Recognitions and Homilies had a common source, that is, that the several differences and resemblances between them cannot be explained by the supposition that either was derived from the other, is the conclusion towards which criticism has been tending for some time, and which has been distinctly maintained by three very different critics, Lipsius in various places, Dr Salmon in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and Uhlhorn (recanting thus far his theory of former days) in the new edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*. It is indeed difficult to understand how any other was ever thought credible. If then such a book existed, it would account for the peculiar phenomena of the quotations by the Paschal Chronicler. But it would account equally well for the other earlier and more interesting quotations. It would be rash to assume that all quotations differing from our texts came from one and the same work in one and the same state. The Syriac text is a warning that the antecedents of the facts known to us may have been more complicated than they appear to have been. But as far as I see, there is nothing in the facts which compels or even suggests the supposition of substantially more than one such work, though it may in course of time have undergone minor modifications, other than the great transformations

into our Recognitions and Homilies. If this be so, we have sufficient evidence that it was called *Περίοδοι Πέτρον*, whether or not it had other names. Further, it must have had substantially the same framework as that which is common to the Recognitions and Homilies: the family romance of Clement must have formed the frame on which the didactic portions were hung. If a comparison of the two works left any doubt on this point, it would be removed by the particulars which we saw to be contained in [Origen's *Commentary in Gen.*], the argument with Clement's father at Laodicea. Hence thus far we may safely say that the common original of both our works was read [at Alexandria soon after 225].

The question next arises, what evidence is there to shew how much earlier the *Περίοδοι* were written? *Relation to Helxai.* Here the first point that claims attention is the connexion between the Clementine literature and the Book of Helxai, of which we have information from three distinct sources. Its characteristic doctrines agree so closely with those of the Clementine literature (see for a short enumeration Dr Salmon in *D. C. B.* i. 575 a) that the community of origin cannot be doubted. Respecting the Book of Helxai itself, and the class of Ebionites who used it, i.e. the Essene Ebionites, there is no need to say much, as excellent English accounts may be found in Dr Salmon (*D. C. B.* ii. 95—98), and Dr Lightfoot's Dissertation

on Essenes (*Col.*) and St Paul and the Twelve (*Gal.*). All the quotations and other evidence are collected by Hilgenfeld at the end of the *Hermas* Part of his *N. T. extra Can. Receptum*. But a word or two is necessary about the historical bearings of this book.

*Helxai in
Palestine
c. 250.*

In a fragment on Ps. lxxxii. (lxxxiii.), (evidently vv. 2, 3), preserved by Eus. 6. 38, Origen states that a certain man had quite lately come (ἐλήλυθέ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος), priding himself greatly on being able to be the spokesman of a godless and most impious doctrine (γνώμης, from the Psalm), called that of the Helkesaites, which had been lately rising up against the Churches. Among the peculiarities which he enumerates is this, "and they have in use (φέρουσιν), a certain book, which they say fell down from heaven." All we can say about the date of the Commentary on this Psalm is that it belongs to the later or Palestinian time of Origen's life, probably not many years before 250. His language suggests that a certain aggressiveness on the part of the sect had been making itself felt, but that at Cæsarea, practically the capital of Palestine, it was represented by a single missionary.

*In Rome
c. 220.*

Again, Hippolytus (ix. 13), writing at Rome about 230—235, in describing the episcopate of Callistus (extending two or three years on each side of 220), speaks of a certain Alcibiades, an inhabitant of Apamea in Syria (some 300 miles S.S.E. of Antioch), as coming to Rome bringing a certain book which

he declared that a certain righteous man named Elchasai had received from Sera or the Seres, in Parthia, &c. &c. Thus we have evidence of the book of Helxai being freshly brought by missionaries of the sect to Rome and to Cæsarea somewhere about 220. Evidently the same impulse might easily give rise to the production of such a book as the parent of our Homilies and Recognitions.

Was this however the time when the *Περίοδοι* *Date of
Helxai
c. 200.* were written, or only when they were brought forward afresh and carried to new readers? Here again the Book of Helxai affords a parallel which must not be neglected. According to Hippolytus, Alcibiades had declared that glad tidings of a new remission of sins had been proclaimed to men, evidently in the Book of Helxai, ἐπὶ Τραιάνου βασιλείας τρίτῳ. Epiph. 40 A says that the man called Helxai was joined with the sect whom he calls Ossaeans, ἐν χρόνοις Τραιάνου βασιλείως. But the source of both statements seems to be preserved in a passage of the Book of Helxai, quoted by Hipp. ix. 16, in which men are warned against beginning a piece of work on a Tuesday, ἐπειδὴ πάλιν πληρουμένων τριῶν ἐτῶν Τραιάνου Καίσαρος, ἄφοτε †ὑπέταξεν ἐκ τοῦ τῆς† (? ὑπέστρεψεν ἐκ τῆς) ἐξουσίας τοῦ Πάρθου, ὅτε ἐπληρώθη τρία ἔτη ἀγγρίζεται ὁ πόλεμος μεταξὺ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῆς ἀσεβείας, &c. The precise meaning of this corrupt passage is very doubtful: but it cannot refer to the third year of Trajan (accidentally = 100

A.D.), but either to the Parthian war which occupied the last two to three years of his life, and in returning from which he died in Cilicia in 117, or the third year immediately following, either 117 or 120. This was the time of wild excitement among the Jews throughout the East, culminating at last in the insurrection of Barcochba, and they took advantage of this Parthian war to perpetrate in various places terrible massacres which were terribly avenged (see Jost, ii. 75 f.); and it is likely enough that the hated Christians in their midst were sufferers, and that some tragic event occurred which long left memories of evil omen behind it. Apparently therefore the combination of the name of Trajan with the number 3 is not a dating of the Book of Helxai but the time of a long passed event to which the Book looks back, and the date of the Book must be later, probably much later, than 120.

Hilgenfeld is apparently the only critic who takes Traj. 3 as an authentic date for the Book (*Ketz. Gesch. d. Kirche*, 433 f.), on the strength of an impossible translation of an impossible conjecture. But others¹ throw it back to the highest antiquity on unsubstantial grounds. I cannot myself see any reason for placing its writing in an earlier generation than that which saw it promulgated, say about the beginning of the third century.

¹ E.g. Salmon *D. C. B.* 2. 97 b, 98 a.

As regards the Περíοδοι, the names of Clement's father and two brothers, Faustus, Faustinus, Faustinianus, fix the story as not earlier in origin than the second half of the second century, when these and the like names were made popular by association with the name of the empress Faustina. The later however we place them, [so long as a little interval is left before the time of the writing of Origen's *Commentary on Genesis*], the more nearly right we are likely to be. [That *Commentary* was written at Alexandria, and] if the Περíοδοι were known at Alexandria about the beginning of the third century it would be strange that Clement of Alexandria should shew no acquaintance with them, considering how much they contained which would have attractions for him. The first or second decade of the third century probably gave birth to the Περíοδοι and the Book of Helxai alike. To account for what Origen and Hippolytus tell us about the Book of Helxai there must have been some remarkable revival among the Essene Ebionites of the East, though we are quite in the dark about the occasion of it. Geographically the birthplace of both books was probably either Palestine east of Jordan, or the region running northward thence between the mountains and the desert, these, especially the former, being the proper home of the Ebionites described by Epiphanius.

Hom. and
Rec.
abridge-
ment of
Περίοδοι.

It is much more difficult to say at what time, in what countries, and by what hands the Περὶοδοι were converted into the Recognitions on the one hand and the Homilies on the other. It is hardly possible to believe that either operation was performed by ordinary churchmen, and thus we lose for the most part the landmarks afforded by the history of doctrine, our knowledge of the history of Ebionism being meagre in the extreme. Another day the question of comparative doctrine must be considered by itself. For our present historical purposes it is enough to observe that the motive for changing the form of the Περὶοδοι is not likely to have been a doctrinal one, at all events in the case of the Homilies. When we compare the extant references to the Περὶοδοι with the corresponding passages in our books, and further, try to imagine the kind of text which seems to be implied in the various bad joinings of altered materials in both books (see Salmon *D. C. B.* i. 571 ff.), and also the indications which both in some places give that they substituted rapid summaries for elaborate discoursings, it seems to me morally certain that the Περὶοδοι were a great deal longer and fuller than either of our books. If this be the case, the mere bulk might well be the chief cause of the change of form, and the Homilies and Recognitions may both be regarded as abridgements of the Περὶοδοι formed on different principles. As has been often observed of late, the Homilies care most for doctrine, and seem

to transpose very freely for doctrinal purposes: the Recognitions care most for the story and for moral lessons, and have preserved the general framework much more nearly than the Homilies. These differences however themselves imply a difference of standing-point. We must not forget the possibly, not probably, accidental fact that not a single ancient writer shews a knowledge of both books in any form. This could hardly have been the case had they arisen in the same or even in a neighbouring country and under similar circumstances. Without attempting to speak positively, we may, I think, account by a reasonable conjecture for the peculiarities of character which they severally exhibit and for the facts of their reception.

The Homilies seem best to reflect the original doctrinal character of the parent work; they are full of marked peculiarities of a deeply interesting kind. They may have lost this or introduced that, but substantially they seem to represent the Helxaism of Origen's time. Now the country where the original character was most likely to be thus preserved was the native country, the true home of Essenism as well as Essene Ebionism. The Homilies seem to have been in all probability written in eastern Palestine or Syria with a view to maintaining or propagating the doctrines of the sect, and that with greater force because less diffuseness than the original *Περὶ ὁδοῦ*. The Recognitions on the other hand, though

*Homilies
written in
the East.*

they retain a certain amount of Helchasaite doctrine, have more of what one may call a miscellaneous Ebionite character. They seem rather to discuss subjects of general interest from an Ebionite point of view than to be intended to propagate Ebionism. This character would naturally be found in a work executed in a region at a distance from the central hearth of the sect, and surrounded by the influences of other creeds and other ways of life.

*Recogni-
tions in
Rome.*

Unfortunately we know little of Ebionism out of Syria. Epiphanius mentions only Cyprus and Rome (xxx. 18). We have however other fourth century testimony for Rome. The commentary on Galatians by Victorinus the Roman rhetorician, whose conversion late in life is a striking episode in Augustine's *Confessions* (viii.), contains some remarkable allusions to the Symmachians, as they were called in the West, and to their devotion to St James. They are also mentioned¹ in the Preface to Galatians by Ambrosiaster, i.e. the Roman deacon Hilary. Rome is at least not an unlikely place, and there is much of a Latin spirit in the Recognitions. From Rome circulation would be rapid and various. About date there is little to say as regards either work. Future investigation may find landmarks within the period between Origen on the one side and Epi-

¹ They are referred to also by Augustine and his Manichean antagonist Faustus, but this probably from N. Africa, especially as regards Faustus.

phanus and Jerome on the other : but for the present we must put up with uncertainty.

Possible Antecedents of Περίοδοι.

Turning back in the opposite direction we are met with a chaos of theories about the *antecedents* of the Περίοδοι. Here too, little, I fear, can be known, but it is worth while to see what tangible data are extant.

First we come to the two prefixed Epistles, about each of which almost every imaginable theory has <sup>*Ep. Clem.*
is alien to
Hom.</sup> been maintained by someone. The case is least obscure as regards the *Epistle of Clement*, which has been on the whole best investigated by Uhlhorn, though he puts the case too strongly. At first sight the coincidence already noticed between the title which its text contains and the title which our MSS. prefix to the Homilies suggests that it is to the Homilies that it properly belongs. But this evidence really goes for little : for nothing was easier than for scribes who assumed this connexion to add this title before the Homilies, supposing them to have had previously only the title Κλημέντια which now precedes the whole collection, Epistles included. The description in c. 19 of the contents of the book introduced by the Epistle suits equally both Homilies and Recognitions. Nor is there much evidence in this case to be obtained from

the comparison of mere language. But the Epistle, though as long as a short Homily, shews neither by single words nor by a single sentence any interest in the doctrinal matters which fill the Homilies, while its garrulity is quite in the vein of the specially characteristic parts of the Recognitions. It is chiefly concerned with Church politics, for which it gives many practical directions, concluding with the few lines already read about the record of St Peter's preachings. It is also to be remembered that the only two independent ancient authors in whom we find the name Recognitions, Rufinus and Photius, are also the only authors who mention either Epistle, while Rufinus apparently knows this Epistle alone, though it is true that we find it attached to our (medieval) MSS. of the Homilies.

*Ep. Pet.
and Adj.
quite dif-
ferent.*

The other Epistle with the Adjuration is certainly in its jealous and almost fierce tone quite out of keeping with the Recognitions. It is simply incredible that their editor-author should have written it. Its main purport, the necessity of keeping the records sent from the eyes of all but a limited class of persons, is such as he could not possibly have approved. The only question that can arise is whether it belongs to the Homilies or to an earlier work, and if so what. This question will need careful consideration.

*Contents of
Ep. Pet.*

The Epistle of Peter, addressed to James as "the Lord and Bishop of the Holy Church," goes at once to

the point after expressing assurance of his zeal for the common cause. "I earnestly ask and beseech thee," he says, "to commit the books of my preachings which I sent (send) (ἔπεμψά σοι) thee to no one of the Gentiles nor to one of our own race (ὁμοφύλῳ) without previous trial; but if a man have been found worthy being put to proof, then to commit them to him according to the instruction¹ (ἀγωγήν) according to which Moses also committed (it is not said *what*) to the Seventy who succeeded to his chair (καθέδραν) (Mt. xxiii. 2). For this cause also the fruit of security is apparent down to the present time; for the men of the same nation with us (ὁμοεθνεῖς) everywhere guard the same rule of the *monarchia* and the manner of life (πολιτείας), it having been in no respect possible for them to be turned out of the way by the many senses of the Scriptures (τῶν εἰς πολλὰ νενουσῶν γραφῶν, i.e. pointing in many different and so contradictory directions) so as to be otherwise minded. For according to the rule committed to them they endeavour to correct² (μεταρρυθμίζειν) the discordances of the Scriptures." After a few lines more in the same strain a fear is expressed that if such a measure be not taken, "one word of truth will be divided into many doctrines"; of which evil Peter already saw the beginning. "For some," he says, "of the Gentiles have rejected the

¹ On ἀγωγή see Arist. *Rhet.* i. 15. 10 with Cope's note. He cites *Polit.* iv. 5.

² Cf. Philostr. p. 7, l. 22 Kayser.

preaching by my mouth which is in accordance with the law (τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ νόμιμον...κήρυγμα) embracing a certain lawless and frivolous teaching of the man who is the enemy (τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου). Nay while I am still alive some have presumed to transform my doctrines by certain cunning interpretations into the undoing of the Law, as though I myself were of this mind, but did not openly proclaim it; a thing which I pray may be far from me." Then come a few more similar lines, including an assertion of the perpetuity of the Law. After which comes a repetition of the original request about the precautions to be observed in imparting the books of his preachings to others, for fear they should be led astray by the conjectures in the soul (τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν στοχασμῶν) instead of interpreting everything by the tradition which had been received.

*Contents
of the Ad-
juration.*

In the Adjuration James reads Peter's letter to the elders, and expresses approval of its exhortation that the books of his preachings should be imparted to no one at haphazard but only to a good and discreet man, who also chooses to teach and is a circumcised believer (ἐμπεριτόμῳ τε ὄντι πιστῷ); and that not all at once, so that if he should be found ἀγνώμων (perhaps foolish, but more probably dishonest) in the first, he may not be entrusted with the second. Accordingly let him be put to proof for a period of not less than six years; and then according to the ἀγωγή of Moses be conducted to a river or fountain, &c., &c. to

make a solemn attestation of the elements, though not an oath, about his care of the books (all interesting but hardly relevant now). At the awful language of the attestation the elders turn pale: on which James repeats the warning more explicitly, "If we commit the books to all at haphazard, and they be falsified (*νοθευθῶσιν*) or have their interpretation perverted by certain audacious men, as you have already heard of some having done, the result in future will be that even those who really seek the truth, will always go astray," and so on. On which the elders express satisfaction and bless Him who made James their Bishop.

Now as we saw at the outset, if any title of a book is implied here it must be *Πέτρου κηρύγματα*. These two words at all events express all that the *Epistle* and the *Adjuration* attribute to the books. They contain preachings, but nothing is said of preachings in different places (*ἐπιδήμια κ.*) or of *Περίοδοι* or of acts or doings of Peter. Nor is there the slightest allusion to Clement or any other subordinate: the preachings are Peter's, and Peter sends them. The suggestion was therefore a very natural one that the *Epistle* and *Adjuration* belong to a book antecedent to all others that we have hitherto considered, which on this view owe their form to the introduction of Clement and his family romance into what was originally a work of much simpler structure, and the simultaneous or consequent introduction of Clement as the scribe of

Do these refer to a book written by St Peter?

Peter's preachings, as he is set forth in the *Epistle of Clement* and in the text of both *Recognitions* and *Homilies*. The theory suggested by the language of the *Epistle of Peter* and the *Adjuration* is moreover supposed to be supported by various other evidence. This whole matter is of such importance that we must give a little time to it, beginning with the most prominent point, the alleged direct authorship of Peter as regards certain of his written preachings.

Other evidence inconclusive.

This direct authorship is said to be indirectly implied in a passage which at all events cannot be passed unnoticed, Hom. i. 20 || Rec. i. 17. The passages run as follows:

Πλὴν γράψας τὸν περὶ προφήτου λόγον αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἀπὸ τῆς Καισαρείας τῆς Στράτωνος διαπεμφθῆναί σοι ἐποίησε τὸν τόμον, παρὰ σου ἐντολὴν ἔχειν εἰπών, τὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὁμιλίας τε καὶ πράξεις γράφοντα διαπέμπειν σοι.

Hom. i. 20.

Unde iubente eo ea quae adloquutus est in ordinem redigens librum de vero propheta conscripsi eumque de Caesarea ad te ipso [sc. Jacobo] iubente transmisi.

Rec. i. 17.

As it stands in the Greek the grammar halts. The nom. γράψας might be either Clement the speaker or Peter: but αὐτοῦ can be only Peter, so that αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος fixes Clement as the subject of γράψας and yet the principal verb is in the 3rd person, ἐποίησε,

and what follows shews that this is not a misreading for ἐποίησα. The suggestion made is that αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος is an interpolation, on which supposition doubtless the sentence runs smoothly with Peter as its subject, and Peter appears as writing his ὁμιλίας καὶ πράξεις with his own hand. But this plausible solution is really an impossible one. If the sentence so emended is by itself easy, it harmonises very ill with the context, which before and after points to Clement's being the scribe. Moreover the condemned words stand in the Recognitions, *jubente eo*. Rufinus's *conscripsi* and *transmisi* go for little: they are just such a change as he would make to render the sentence easily intelligible: but it would be very strange that the Recognitions and Homilies should independently have just the same interpolation. The true explanation is I believe supplied by c. 22 of Recognitions, *Haec mihi dicens, dilatio Simonis contulit ut per ordinem cuncta cognoscerem*. The subject of *dicens* is Peter, the subject of the principal verb is *dilatio Simonis*. Evidently this simple sentence did not seem to Rufinus to need doctoring, and so he has preserved for us a *nom. pendens* which grammatically speaking is neither harder nor easier than the *nom. pendens* of γράφας...αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος...ἐποίησε. The anacoluthon is certainly very harsh: but as it exists in the one case it may well do so in the other also. Moreover the addition of πράξεις to ὁμιλίας renders it very unlikely that Peter himself was meant to be

the narrator. Thus vanishes what is I believe the only explicit evidence outside the *Epistle of Peter* and the *Adjuration* adduced for the direct authorship of Peter.

But the same passage is very instructive in the opposite direction. It makes Peter tell Clement that he had a commandment from James to write and send to him his *ὁμιλίας* and *πράξεις* of each year: so that evidently at least the author of the *Περίοδοι* considered Peter to be not less the writer and not less the sender because he employed the agency of Clement in one or both capacities (*γράφας, διαπεμφθῆναι σοι ἐποίησε* not *διέπεμψε*). We must not then be misled by the example of the *Epistle of Clement*, which would have failed in its purpose if it had not given prominence to Clement; nor by the example of the Homilies and Recognitions themselves, in which Clement himself is the spokesman. Whether his part in the writing should be mentioned or not in a letter purporting to come direct from Peter would naturally depend on the special purpose of the letter. The absence of Clement's name becomes corroborative evidence if there are other good reasons for supposing the existence of pre-Clementine *κηρύγματα*: but not otherwise.

*The evi-
dence of
Rec. and
Hom.*

We come next to one of the most interesting but also most difficult parts of the whole subject, the real or supposed evidence borne by the Recognitions and

Homilies to another antecedent work. It is unfortunate that the greater part of the ample discussions under this head proceeds on a wrong basis, because they assume either the derivation of Recognitions from Homilies or *vice versa*, the recent acceptance of a common source for both works being found only in short articles. When once the idea of pre-Clementine *κηρύγματα* was started, it was natural to refer to them any such features in the extant work taken as the elder of the two as seemed inconsistent with originality and so to point back to some antecedent work. Most of these indications may so easily be taken as due to the obvious relation of the Homilies and Recognitions to the *Περίοδοι* that it would be wasting time to discuss them.

There is however other supposed evidence for the existence of a shorter earlier work consisting of *κηρύγ.* Πέτ. answering only to Rec. i—iii. They are supposed to have contained only the Cæsarean discourses. There is no doubt that the *Περίοδοι* placed at Cæsarea all the disputes between Peter and Simon himself. This is the arrangement in the Recognitions, and the dispute with Simon at Laodicea in the later Homilies shews by various marks that it stood originally at Cæsarea. But it does not follow that the incidents and discourses at other places were not part of the original design. The *sermo quem habituri sumus per loca singula* (i. 13, fin.) is mentioned in the same sentence which names Rome, supposed to be

*Was there
a work
limited to
Cæsarea?*

the mark of the older work. Nor is there any sign of discontinuity (unless the table of contents at the end of Rec. iii. be such) after Laodicea in either of our works.

*The ref.
in Ap.
Const.*

An independent proof of the existence of a work ending with Laodicea is supposed to be contained in *Ap. Const.* vi. 8 f. But it completely breaks down on examination. First, it is entirely absent from the Syriac or uninterpolated form of the *Ap. Const.*, probably dating from late in the third century. There¹ we read after much about Simon from Acts, "But when we went forth among the Gentiles to preach the word of life, then the devil wrought among the people, to send after us false apostles to profane the word. And they put forward Cleobius and joined him with Simon, and then others also ἐκ τῶν περὶ Σίμωνα followed me (Peter) to pervert the word. But having arrived in Rome, he troubled the Church much" &c. In the common or interpolated *Ap. Const.* (prob. A.D. 360—380) this is expanded by matter from one of our works or the *Περίοδοι*. Simon meeting with me Peter πρῶτον ἐν Καισαρείᾳ Στράτωνος tried to pervert the word of God in company with Zacch. &c. καὶ τρίτον ἐπ' αὐτῶν διαλεχθεὶς αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν περὶ προφήτου λόγον καὶ περὶ θεοῦ μοναρχίας ἡττήσας αὐτὸν δυνάμει τοῦ κυρίου καὶ εἰς ἀφωνίαν καταβαλὼν φυγίδα κατέστησα εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ &c. The three days

¹ See Lagarde's Greek version in Bunsen's *Anal. Ante-Nicaena* ii.

suit either Recognitions or Homilies (in Hom. 2 or 3 faintly marked). The *πρῶτον ἐν Καισ.* is doubtless put in in opposition to the encounter at Rome. But the sole mention of Cæsarea arises from the fact that there alone were Simon and Peter in disputation. Peter is not recounting his own preachings, but simply Simon's attempts to counterwork *himself*, and for this purpose the doings at Tripolis and Laodicea were irrelevant.

Next we may consider the remarkable table of contents included in their last chapter (Rec. iii. 75). *The Table
of contents
Rec. iii. 75.* You will remember that these three books, answering broadly in their framework, though by no means in the discourses and the details, to the first three Homilies, contain (after the introductory history of Clement) the disputations and other proceedings at Cæsarea. Towards the end (Rec. iii. 63, Hom. iii. 58) we hear that Simon Magus has fled by night: the different accounts of his destination must stand over for the present. Peter ordains Zacchæus bishop in his own place and prepares to follow Simon, first sending on some of his disciples. Before proceeding he remained himself three months more at Cæsarea, according to Rec. (iii. cc. 68, 70, 72, 74) [ten days according to Hom. iii. 73]. "During the three months spent there for the sake of teaching," says Clement (Rec. iii. 74), "whatsoever things Peter expounded before the people by day, these he explained to us privately more fully and perfectly by night.... At

the same time, since he observed that I committed to memory with special care what I heard he commanded me to gather up in writing (*libris*, βιβλίοις) all particulars which seemed worthy of being recorded, and to send them to thee my lord, James, as also I did in obedience to his orders."

Then follows (Rec. iii. 75) the table. "The first book then of those which I first (*prius*) sent to thee treats of the true prophet, and on the special mode of understanding the Law in accordance with the teaching of the tradition of Moses." The enumeration is carried on for ten books, which at the end he speaks of as ten *volumina*, containing Peter's expoundings (*disserta*) at Caesarea, which he wrote at Peter's command and sent to James. A very slight examination is enough to shew that the table of contents cannot be naturally taken from the discourses as they stand in our Recognitions, while it is equally clear that there is a close connexion between them. They are pretty evidently a survival from an antecedent work. But to learn anything about the relations of the one to the other we must compare the ten heads with the discourses extant in the Recognitions.

I. "On the true prophet, and on the special mode of understanding the Law in accordance with the teaching of the tradition of Moses." The True Prophet¹

¹ [Rec. i. 17 contains an express reference to the Book on 'the True Prophet.' Cf. Hom. i. c. 20.]

is a subject emerging everywhere: it is specially prominent i. 15 ff. 25. The mode of understanding the Law by the tradition is laid down in the latter part of i. 21, and accordingly in i. 22 *init.* we read that Peter expounded to Clement the details concerning those passages (*capitulis*) of the Law which seemed to be in dispute, from the beginning of the Creation down to the time at which Clement had come upon Peter at Cæsarea. In the following chapters there is a kind of commentary on O.T. history, with some singular omissions (e.g. of the Captivity and Return): but this hardly answers the description, which applies better to the remarkable discussion about supposed interpolations in the O.T. in Hom. ii. 38—52; iii. 38—57 (see especially what is said about Moses and the chosen Seventy in ii. 38).

II. "On the first principle, whether there be one first principle or many." This is one of the points laid down in i. 20 as needing to be first of all decided. It is discussed in a somewhat scholastic fashion in iii. 2—6, especially 2, 3. This head or book contains likewise a second point not obviously connected with the first, viz. "that the Law of the Hebrews is not ignorant what *immensitas* is." This odd-looking position becomes clear when we read in ii. 49 that Simon was anxious to hold forth *de immensitate summæ lucis*, and that he used these words, "I hold that there is a certain power of unbounded and ineffable light,

the greatness of which is held incomprehensible, which power is unknown even to the Creator of the world, and to the lawgiver Moses, and to your teacher Jesus." The same subject is pursued in the following chapters to 70 inclusive: see especially 67, where Peter says that he could use testimonies of the Law and Nature to make Simon know that the Law does in an especial manner contain "immensitatis fidem." In iii. 14 f. Simon for a moment is inclined to call on Peter to redeem his promise, but breaks off into another subject.

III. "Concerning God and the things which have been ordained (*instituta*) by Him." This seems to answer to the rapid summary given by Clement in i. 24 of what he had heard from Peter. It is so to speak a condensed exhibition of a theory of the Divine counsels for mankind beginning at a point before the world. Much of the same matter recurs in iii. 52, where Peter speaks of having expounded it to Clement more fully "in eo tractatu quem de præfinitione et fine disserueram." On *præfinitio* (probably προορισμός) see i. 23; 69.

IV. "That, though there are said to be many gods, there is but one true God, according to the text of the Scriptures." This is fully argued in Rec. ii. 37—46 (|| Hom. iii. 2—9).

V. "That there are two heavens, of which the one is this visible firmament, which will also pass away, the other eternal and invisible." This topic, after being

announced in ii. 67 f., and again in iii. 14, is discussed in iii. 27—30.

VI. A very composite head "On good and evil, and that all things are subjected to good by the Father; and concerning evil why and how and whence it is, and that it works together with good but without purposing good (*sed non proposito bono*); and what are the signs of good, what of evil; and what is the difference between *dualitas* and *conjugatio*." The general question of evil is dealt with slightly in Rec. iii. 15—18, much more elaborately in Hom. xix. 2—23 and in part in xx. If, as seems likely, the signs of good and evil are the signs that we met with in the *Op. Imp.*, they are briefly set forth in Rec. iii. 59 f. (and the || Hom. ii. 33 f.). This is closely connected in the last cited passages of both works with the last item, the doctrine of Syzygy, faintly sketched Rec. iii. 55 f., 59—61, much more vigorously and fully Hom. ii. 15—18 (cf. ii. 33; iii. 16). But the distinction from *dualitas* is not mentioned.

VII. "What discourses were delivered by the twelve apostles before the people in the temple?" This is of course the recital in Rec. i. 55—64.

VIII. "On the words of the Lord which seem to be contradictory but are not, and what is their explanation?" This doubtless answers to Rec. ii. 26—35.

IX. "That the Law which was ordained by God is righteous and perfect, and alone capable of producing peace." Here the chief phrases correspond to

isolated phrases of ii. 36, "aut ignoras quia *perfectio legis pax* est"; and again, "ubi uero *pax* est, in disputationibus veritas, in operibus *justitia* invenitur." But Peace is itself the subject of about twelve chapters (ii. 20—31), and probably the whole subject in connexion with the Law was treated much more fully in the *Περίοδοι*.

Lastly, X. "On the carnal birth of men (*nativitate*, probably *γενέσεως*), and on the generation (probably *γεννήσεως*) which comes to pass through baptism; and what is the succession of the carnal seed in man, and what the nature (*ratio*, probably *λόγος*) of his soul, and how there is freedom of will therein; which (i.e. probably the soul), since it is not unborn (*ingenita*, *ἀγέννητος*) but made, could not be incapable of being moved from good." The first part of this head is, strange to say, the hardest of all to identify in the *Recognitions*, or indeed in either book. The passage which comes nearest is Hom. xi. 24—28, and it is worth notice that the simple *γέννησις* referred to Baptism (as distinguished from the more frequent *ἀναγεννίω*) is represented by two phrases of xi. 27, *σπεύσον γεννηθῆναι θεῷ* and *τῷ ἐξ ὕδατος γεννῶντί σε πατρί*. Remote resemblances will be found in Rec. ii. 71 f., as also in the later book vi. 8—10, answering to the passages just cited from *Homilies*. The second part of the head, on Free Will, answers to Rec. iii. 22—26: the phrase "*immobiles a bono*" occurs in iii. 26.

We have now gone rapidly through all the heads, *Comparison with contents of Rec. i—iii.* so as to be able to form some impression as to their relation to the existing books. First, these heads profess to be retrospective, to be the heads of Peter's teaching at Cæsarea; and internal evidence is to the same effect, that is, that they do not cover the ground of the other books, or travel beyond what we find in the Recognitions or what we should naturally suppose, chiefly on independent grounds, to have been in the *Περίοδοι*. The differences are almost wholly of order, not of matter. 1 is on the cardinal doctrine of the True Prophet (see end of Book I.), 2, 3, 4 together (from somewhat scattered materials) make up the Monarchia, and of doctrines proper these are the two most fundamental. Passing over 5 and 6 for the moment, we have in 7 the discourses of the Twelve, which in the order of Recognitions follows 1, but might easily be displaced by the Monarchia. 8 and 9 take up consecutive groups of chapters in Rec. ii.; 10, so far as represented at all, a later passage of Rec. ii. There remains but one great and not obviously intelligible transposition, that the two heads taken exclusively from Rec. iii., instead of standing at the end, are shifted back to stand as 5 and 6 after the Monarchia. The probable reason is that they contain two more nearly fundamental doctrines than the heads placed after them, viz. that of the two heavens, present and future, and the doctrine of evil in connexion with Syzygies, i.e. each deals with one kind of dualism.

*Probably
a résumé
by author
of Περίοδοι.*

The question now arises, which order is the earlier of the two? Does the table of heads attest the order in which the materials actually stood in an earlier book, or is it conversely abstracted from our Recognitions or from a book in cognate order? If it comes from an earlier book, that book can hardly have been the *Περίοδοι*: at least, if it was, there must have been in Recognitions a much greater rearrangement of materials than seems at all likely: it must therefore in that case come from a still earlier book, which we should then be justified in calling the *Κηρύγματα Πέτρου*. The terms used however in the headings belong to just the same mental atmosphere that we breathe in our present books. They do not at all suggest what the critics who imagine *Κηρύγματα Πέτρου* suppose, a work of wholly different character, from a much earlier age, written expressly to attack St Paul. All such features are wanting. But indeed it is very difficult to imagine the process of tearing to pieces a book written on such a comparatively systematic and continuous plan in order to twist the shreds about with changed order among different new disputations, or to understand the motive for such a process. The other alternative is much more probable, that the heads are nothing more than a doctrinal summing up by the author of the *Περίοδοι*, exhibiting briefly in an arranged form the main points on which he had been making Peter insist in these his primary discourses and disputations at Cæsarea. Where the

whole is a fiction, there is nothing improbable in supposing that the previous reports said to have been sent to James were a fiction too, and that no such book was ever written. Whether the author intended to carry on the fiction in respect of subsequent discourses of Peter we cannot tell. The absence of allusion to similar reports for James in the later books does not go for much. The author might easily come to find that he had already singled out all that he most cared to single out in this formal manner, and not think it necessary to go on repeating the fiction for mere consistency's sake when there was no fresh object to be gained by it. This table of heads cannot then be safely regarded as evidence for the previous existence of a separate book of Cæsarean *Κηρύγματα*.

A very few words will suffice on an argument for the existence of an earlier book which, if well founded, would be of extreme interest, the supposed rehandling of the materials in successive recensions so as to make Simon the mouthpiece of successive heresies according to the age of the particular editor. This theory in its completest and most ingenious form was elaborated by Hilgenfeld, who argued that Simon originally was a lay-figure representing St Paul, then Basilides, then Valentinus, and finally Marcion. About St Paul I will speak presently. The name Basilides stands for two distinct sets of doctrines, reported to us by different authorities, those of Basilides and those of a set

*Are there
traces of
several re-
handlings?*

of Basilidians who misunderstood the original teaching. Which were which is still a matter of controversy, though the case seems to me clear enough¹: but at all events, after close examination of the alleged coincidences, I failed to find in Recognitions or Homilies a single point characteristic of *either* "Basilidian" system. As regards Valentinus and Gnosticism generally, there is nothing distinctively Valentinian: there is Gnostic language put into Simon's mouth, but only such as belongs to the peculiar form of Gnosticism, which there is independent evidence for attributing probably to Simon himself, but at all events to a sect of Simonians. It is almost wholly divested of connexion with Simon's teaching, though (at least in the second point under the second head) shewing traces of having been elicited by Simon's teaching. It is perhaps worth notice that the end of the sixth head in Rec. iii. 75, "*quæ sit differentia dualitatis et conjugationis*," implies some contrast between the Clementine doctrine of Syzygies (*conjugatio*) and some other doctrine of *dualitas*, i.e. probably *δυάς*; and that in Iren. p. 52 the Valentinian pairs, "Ἀρρητος Συγή, Πατήρ Ἀλήθεια, appear as *δυάδες*, though the term Syzygy is also applied to them. It is conceivable, though not very probable, that it is the Valentinian doctrine that the *Περίοδοι* repudiated, though whether in association with Simon's name or not we cannot tell. But it is at least as likely that it is the pairs of

¹ See Article *Basilides* in *Dict. Chr. Biog.*

the Simonian Gnosticism that are meant. Neither *δυάς* nor *συζυγία* is strictly speaking a technical word, and they might be used indifferently except by conventional appropriation. No reference seems to be intended to the *dualitas* of Rec. iii. 10; 11. The case is different as regards Marcion. Simon is occasionally made to speak language which, as far as our present knowledge goes, is distinctively Marcionistic. But that helps us little. No doctrine of the early (so called) heresies had anything like the vitality of Marcionism as regards at least its leading ideas. There was no time between early in the second century and the age of Rufinus when it had not living representatives (see some particulars in *D. C. B.* iii. 819 f.). Nearly half a century after Rufinus, Theodoret could boast that he had converted eight villages of Marcionites, and elsewhere mentions an apparently unsuccessful attempt of the same kind made by a predecessor of his own at Chrysostom's exhortation: and this was in Syria, not far from the home of the Clementines. Marcionist language might therefore date from the composition of the *Περὶ ὁδοῦ*, or from the subsequent recensions, and is no evidence of a work written in an earlier time.

Having then found no tangible evidence for independent earlier *Κηρύγματα* in the body of our Recognitions and Homilies, we can return to the supposed evidence of the *Epistle of Peter*. First we have to

*Evidence
for con-
nexion of
Ep. Pet.
and Adj.
with
author of
Hom.*

notice some points which at least *prima facie* point to a connexion with the Homilies. First there are some remarkable coincidences of language. (References must suffice.)

Ep. Pet. 1 (Moses and the 70), Hom. ii. 38 ; iii. 47.

Ep. Pet. 1 (inconsistency of O.T.), Hom. iii. 24.

Ep. Pet. 2, τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ κήρυγμα, Hom. xvii. 19.

Adjur. 1, Regeneration with living water in river or fountain, Hom. ix. 19 ; xi. 35 (cf. vii. 8 ; xi. 27).

(*Ep. Pet.* 1, μοναρχία *passim*, πολιτεία, Hom. ii. 19 f. ; iii. 32 ; viii. 22 ; xiii. 4 ; xviii. 17 ; but these less distinctive perhaps.)

Another interesting coincidence is between the solitary *evangelical* quotation in *Ep. Pet.* and *Adjur.*, i.e. Mt. v. 18, in *Ep. Pet.* 2, with the same in Hom. iii. 51, where we read ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ παρελεύσονται, ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεραία οὐ μὴ παρέλθῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, where the first clause is, I feel sure, borrowed by a most natural slip of memory from Mt. xxiv. 35 (the two verses are independently brought together by Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 33). In the *Ep. Pet.* this exact combination is repeated verbatim, with the addition τοῦτο δὲ εἶρηκεν ἵνα τὰ πάντα γένηται i.e. the last clause of the verse in Matthew, with ἵνα τὰ substituted for ἕως ἄν, the change being made for his special purpose (τοῦτο in τοῦτο δὲ εἶρηκεν κ.τ.λ. meaning the preceding sentence). There is no vestige of this form of text elsewhere, and it bears no trace of being an independent report, or anything more than a

casual fusion. The coincidence clearly implies either that both passages had the same author or that the one copied the other.

Again, *Adjur.* 1 lays stress on the need of communicating the books not to chosen persons only, but also to them only by degrees, the first before the second, it being evidently implied that the more mysterious or perplexing doctrines would come last. Now this would entirely hold good of the Homilies, in which the very peculiar doctrine of evil comes very near the end. It would apply tolerably, though not well, to the first three books of the *Περίοδοι*, taking the Recognitions as our guide as to their structure (but no one, I believe, thinks of *them* as a separate book). It applies very badly to our Recognitions as a whole, and no better to the Table of Heads, which is assumed to give the order of the contents of the assumed *Κηρύγματα*. It has been replied that the *Adjuration* thinks only of "second," not "last": but this is a mere quibble. It evidently means to imply a principle to be carried on through the parts of the book successively: A before B implies Y before Z, and *a fortiori* A before Z.

On the other hand it is urged that the Homilies and the *Ep. Pet.* differ in their conception of the O. T. prophets, the Homilies denying their Divine character, and the *Ep. Pet.* merely representing them as requiring special interpretation. But, as Uhlhorn (98 f.) has shewn, there is no such real difference.

Τὰ τῶν γραφῶν ἀσύμφωνα πειρῶνται μεταρρυθμίζειν certainly implies errors to be removed, not mere interpretation of obscurities¹; and on the other hand the Homilies appear to represent the prophets as speaking sometimes truth, sometimes falsehood. Moreover the apparently milder language of the *Ep. Pet.* arises from its referring to the Law as well as the Prophets. There is therefore no tangible difference.

A more plausible case may be made from the fact that the *Adjuration* allowed the books to be entrusted only to one ἐμπεριτόμῳ ὄντι πιστῷ, whereas the Homilies make no allusion to circumcision. But it is to be observed that this condition is put into the mouth of James alone, whereas the careful conditions previously laid down by Peter twice over (I, 3) say nothing about circumcision; and yet no one doubts or could doubt that *Ep. Pet.* and the *Adjuration* are by the same author. Moreover, the Homilies contain no explicit rejection of the need of circumcision, such as we find in Rec. v. 34.

The references to St Paul as 'The Enemy' in *Ep. Pet.*

One more argument remains, connected with a specially interesting point—the attitude of the Clementine literature towards St Paul. The *Ep. Pet.* 2 attributes the rejection of the legitimate preaching through Peter to the acceptance of the lawless and

¹ μεταρρυθμίζω is used of bringing to virtue a vicious man, and Philostr. (*V. A.* i. 13, p. 7, 22 Kayser) has even κακείνον...μετερρυθμίσε τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων πολλῶν ὄντων.

babbling teaching τοῦ ἐχθροῦ ἀνθρώπου, i.e. of course St Paul.

Now the same phrase occurs towards the end of Rec. i. (70 *homo quidam inimicus, ille inimicus homo*, 71 *inimicus ille homo*, 73 *inimicus homo*) describing the manner in which Paul was said to have broken in upon the imminent conversion of the people by the Apostles and to have raised a tumult, and finally to have gone off to Damascus with a mission from Caiaphas. The part of Rec. i. in which this occurs is unlike anything else in Recognitions or Homilies. As I mentioned, some hold it to have come from the Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου described by Epiphanius, and on the whole the suggestion is a probable one, notwithstanding the different interpretation which we saw was given by Epiphanius to the word ἀναβαθμοί. At all events this portion of Book I. cannot have been originally written as part of the book: it must have had an independent existence in the first instance, and then been incorporated with the Clementine work in some stage or other of that work. But in what stage? *Prima facie* one would be tempted to say that this section was interpolated into a work already existing. But this is to all appearance decisively negatived by head VII. in iii. 75, *quæ sint quæ prosecuti sunt duodecim apostoli apud populum in templo*. Had we been able to refer the Table of Heads simply to the Recognitions, we might have supposed that the insertion of this

In Rec. or rather in the rec. of these rec. drawn from 'The Steps of James.'

section was part of the process by which the *Περίοδοι* were turned into the Recognitions, and the more since the Homilies shew no trace of it. But since the Table of Heads must go further back, i.e. to the *Περίοδοι*, the section must have stood in the *Περίοδοι*. In all probability then the author of the *Περίοδοι* incorporated into his own work this earlier narrative (be its name *Ἀναβαθμοὶ Ἰακώβου* or not), or at least so much of it as suited his purpose. This is a more probable supposition than that his work was a mere expansion of the narrative through a succession of processes.

*This source
cannot be
very early.*

The result obtained thus far is that the narrative in Rec. i., including the *inimicus homo*, was written before the *Περίοδοι*. Whether, however, the difference of date amounted to a few months or years or to four or five generations, does not appear from this evidence. There is, as far as I am aware, nothing that points to a very high antiquity; and there is at least one word which, though usually overlooked, seems to me strongly adverse to the supposition. In a characteristic passage of chapter 73, in one of the sentences which speak of "*inimicus homo*," we read of "*Jacobus archiepiscopus stans in summis gradibus*," and previously in chapter 68 "*Jacobum episcoporum principem sacerdotum princeps* (sc. Caiaphas) orabat," where the Greek is not unlikely to have been the same (*τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ὁ ἀρχιερεύς*), and at all events the sense is not distinguishable. Both the title and the

*The Title
Arch-
bishop.*

function implied by it are startling. The title is elsewhere unknown before the fourth century, and then it occurs only in two Meletian sources¹ with reference to local Egyptian arrangements; after which it disappears again till the Council of Ephesus. It cannot here be any interpolation of Rufinus, for it cannot have been in general use in his time, since otherwise it must have occurred in the literature of the fourth century. The title therefore must in any case be an isolated phenomenon. As regards the function denoted by it, it is difficult, as far as our present knowledge goes, to think of it as suggesting itself at any earlier time than the latter years of the second century, the time of the great movement towards organisation and consolidation, which was likely to react largely upon outlying bodies like the Jewish Christians. Moreover, there is no trace of either title or function being assigned to St James in either Hegesippus or the stories about St James preserved by Clement of Alexandria, sources in which they were likely to have left some trace had they been associated with his name in Judæo-Christian traditions. At first sight the nature of the function might be thought to suggest that Jerusalem must have been still standing when the title was given; but in reality the idealised Jerusalem, as looked back to from a later age, was more likely still to suggest it. We hardly realise what an event the foundation of Aelia must have been in Christian as well as in Jewish

¹ Melet. Cat. ap. Ath. *Apol. c. Ar.* 71 and Epiph. 68.

history. It was not for nothing that the long unbroken line of bishops of the circumcision enumerated by Eus. *Ecc. Hist.* iv. 5, was then suddenly succeeded by the Gentile Marcus, the new church being composed of Gentiles, *u. s.* iv. 6. Thenceforward for a long while the site of what had been Jerusalem was avoided by the Jews, partly because the Emperor forbade them to come near it, partly because of their abhorrence of the heathen worship set up in the holy places; and evidently the Jewish Christians could only remain by abandoning their Judaism. Probably they joined their brethren beyond Jordan with an embittered spirit of antagonism to the Gentile Churches, while yet, as the Rabbinical writings amply shew, they were hated and scorned by the Jews. This isolated position would naturally lead them to draw closer and closer together, and in due time the centre of their organisation might easily be a central bishop, an ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, of whom the prototype would of necessity be St James. The same idea is implied in the title ἐπισκόπων ἐπισκόπου given to St James in the heading of the *Ep. Clem.*, which, as we saw, belongs to the Recognitions. It seems to be an imitation of the *episcopus episcoporum* of Rome, jeered at by Tert. *De pudic.* i., apparently written in an early year of the third century; and indeed it is not unlikely that the pretensions put forward by Victor of Rome about 190 may have had their share in suggesting the idea of an *archiepiscopus* taking his

name from the yet more venerable see of Jerusalem.

There is then no difficulty in supposing that the narrative in Rec. i., containing the *inimicus homo*, belongs to the close of the second or opening of the third century, and if so, the similar language of the *Ep. Pet.* is no sign of primitive antiquity. You will remember that τὸν ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἀθετεῖ is one of the characteristics which Origen assigns to the Helxastic doctrine of his own day; and though the immediate meaning is doubtless "rejects St Paul's *Epistles*," yet the rejection of them carried with it the condemnation of himself, since there was no doubt felt about the genuineness of at least the more important Epistles bearing his name. The origin of the phrase ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος must, I think, be sought in the Parable of the Sower (Mt. xiii. 25, 28), where ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος is said to have over-sowed the wheat with tares, St Paul being regarded as having similarly introduced strange elements into the original Gospel.

Thus the last supposed ground for connecting the *Ep. Pet.* with the supposed very ancient *Κηρίγματα* falls away. It may conceivably belong to the *Περίοδοι*; but, so far as we can judge of the *Περίοδοι*, through the Recognitions, its spirit harmonises much better with the narrower and more polemical purpose with which the Homilies seem to have been edited, with which, moreover, as we have seen, it has some special points of contact. On the whole then, though

*The
Enemy' in
Ep. Pet.
no evidence
for very
early date.*

Conclusion.

the case is not free from doubt, it seems probable that the editor of the Homilies wrote the *Ep. Pet.* and the *Adjuration*. The date as before remains uncertain. Neither the theory of James's jurisdiction nor the animosity to St Paul were likely to die out soon.

St Paul and Simon Magus.

We have already been led to consider either directly or indirectly most of the more important problems connected with the Recognitions. But the most important remains: what is the relation of the Simon Magus of the Clementine literature to St Paul? We have just been considering the signs of animosity against St Paul shewn in the *Ep. Pet.* and in the narrative incorporated in Recognitions, and probably in the *Περίοδοι*. Nothing quite of the same kind meets us in any other part of the Recognitions or in the Homilies. But the same animosity shews itself in a different and carefully veiled form in the Homilies and probably in the Recognitions, and if so doubtless it was to be found in the *Περίοδοι*. Three striking examples¹ are given by Lightfoot, Galatians,

¹ The passages referred to run as follows:

Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ σοὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἡμῶν δι' ὁράματος ὀφθεῖς ἐγνώσθη καὶ ὠμίλησεν,—ὡς ἀντικειμένῳ ὀργιζόμενος· διὸ δι' ὁραμάτων καὶ ἐνυπνίων ἢ καὶ δι' ἀποκαλύψεων ἐξώθεν οὐσῶν ἐλάλησεν. εἰ τις δὲ δι' ὀπτασίαν πρὸς διδασκαλίαν σοφισθῆναι δύναται; καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐρεῖς· δυνατόν ἐστιν, διὰ τί ὁλῶ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐγγρηγορῶσι παραμένων ὠμίλησεν ὁ διδάσκαλος; πῶς δέ σοι καὶ πιστεύσομεν αὐτό, κἂν ὅτι ὥφθη σοι; πῶς δέ σοι καὶ ὥφθη, ὅποτε

314 ff., ed. 4, the best known being xvii. 19; xi. 35; ii. 17, 18. Here words spoken by St Paul to St Peter are

αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐναντία τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ φρονεῖς; εἰ δὲ ὕπ' ἐκείνου μᾶς ὥρας ὀφθεις καὶ μαθητευθεις ἀπόστολος ἐγένου, τὰς ἐκείνου φωνὰς κήρυσσε, τὰ ἐκείνου ἐρμήνευε, τοὺς ἐκείνου ἀποστόλους φίλει, ἐμοὶ τῷ συγγενομένῳ αὐτῷ μὴ μάχου. πρὸς γὰρ στερεὰν πέτραν ὄντα με, θεμέλιον ἐκκλησίας, ἐναντίος ἀνθέστηκάς μοι. εἰ μὴ ἀντικειμένος ἦς, οὐκ ἂν με διαβάλλων τὸ δι' ἐμοῦ κήρυγμα ἐλοιδορεῖς, ἵνα, ὁ παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτὸς παρῶν ἀκήκοα, λέγων μὴ πιστεύωμαι, δῆλον ὅτι ὡς ἐμοῦ καταγνωσθέντος καὶ ἐμοῦ [ὡς σοῦ F.J.A.H.] εὐδοκιμοῦντος. ἢ εἰ κατεγνωσμένος με λέγεις, θεοῦ τοῦ ἀποκαλύψαντός μοι τὸν Χριστὸν κατηγορεῖς, καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ ἀποκαλύψει μακαρίσαντός με καταφέρεις [καταφέρει J. M. S.].

Hom. xvii. 19.

ὁ ἀποστειλας ἡμᾶς κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ προφήτης ὑφηγήσατο ἡμῶν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας διαλεχθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ μηδὲν δυνηθεὶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπηκόων ἐπηγγέλλετο πρὸς ἀπάτην ἀποστόλους πέμψαι. διὸ πρὸ πάντων μέμνησθε ἀπόστολον ἢ διδασκαλον ἢ προφήτην [μὴ προσδέχσθαι] μὴ πρότερον ἀντιβάλλοντα αὐτοῦ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰακώβῳ τῷ λεχθέντι ἀδελφῷ τοῦ κυρίου μου καὶ πεπιστευμένῳ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὴν Ἑβραίων διέπειν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων προσεληλυθότα πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ ἡ κακία ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ προσδιαλεχθεῖσα ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, μηδὲν δυνηθεῖσα, ὕστερον ὡς ἀστραπὴ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ γῆς πεσοῦσα καθ' ὑμῶν ἐκπέμψῃ κήρυκα, ὡς νῦν ἡμῖν τὸν Σίμωνα ὑπέβαλε προφάσει ἀληθείας ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κηρύσσοντα, πλάνην τε ἐνσπείροντα. οὐ χάριν ὁ ἀποστειλας ἡμᾶς ἔφη· πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται πρὸς με ἐν ἐνδύμασι προβάτων, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσι λύκοι ἄρπαγες· ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.

Hom. xi. 35.

ταῦτη τῇ τάξει ἀκολουθοῦντα δυνατὸν ἦν νοεῖν τίνος ἐστὶ Σίμων, ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτος ἐλθὼν, καὶ τίνος ὦν τυγχάνω, ὁ μετ' ἐκείνων ἐληλυθώς, καὶ ἐπελθὼν ὡς σκότῃ φῶς, ὡς ἀγνοία γνῶσις, ὡς νόσος ἰασις. οὕτως δὴ, ὡς ὁ ἀληθὴς ἡμῖν προφήτης εὗρηκεν, πρῶτον ψευδὲς δεῖ ἐλθεῖν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ πλάνου τινός, καὶ εἶδ' οὕτως μετὰ καθαίρεσιν τοῦ ἀγίου τόπου εὐαγγέλιον ἀληθὲς κρύφα διαπεμφθῆναι εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν ἐσομένων αἰρέσεων· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ τέλει πάλιν πρῶτον Ἀντίχριστον ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, καὶ τότε τὸν ὄντως Χριστὸν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν ἀναφανῆναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον αἰωνίου φωτός ἀνατείλαντος πάντα τὰ τοῦ σκότους ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι.

18. Ἐπεὶ οὖν, ὡς ἔφην, τὸν κανόνα τῆς συζυγίας ἀγνωοῦσί τινες, ἐνθεν οὐκ

referred to as though spoken by Simon to St Peter ; and this is the general characteristic of these passages ; an application to Simon of words used by or of St Paul, or of claims made by or in behalf of St Paul. But there are other more or less certain examples of the same kind. In the Recognitions¹ the most prob-

ἐπίστανται τίς τυγχάνει ὁ ἐμοῦ προοδεύσας Σίμων. εἰ γὰρ ἐγινώσκετο, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστεύετο· νῦν δὲ ἀγνοούμενος οὐκ ὀρθῶς πιστεύεται· καὶ ὁ τὰ μυσούντων ποιῶν ἡγάπηται, καὶ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ὡς φίλος ἀποδέδεκται, καὶ θάνατος ὧν ὡς σώζων πεπρόθηται, καὶ πῦρ ὧν φῶς νερόμσται, καὶ πλάνος ὧν ὡς ἀληθεύων ἀκούεται.

Hom. ii. 17, 18.

¹ The passages referred to run as follows :

Verum si non invenisset Simonem malignus ministrum sibi, invenisset alium sine dubio ; necesse est enim seculo huic venire scandala, vñ tamen illi per quem veniunt. Et ideo magis defendendus est Simon, quod vas electionis factus est maligno ; quod utique non fuisset, nisi potestatem in eum pro peccatis prioribus accepisset.

Rec. iii. 49.

Petrus respondit : Solent ista, O Simon, absurda adversus deum meditari hi qui legem non magistris tradentibus legunt, sed semetipsos doctores habent et putant se intelligere posse legem, quam sibi non exposuit ille qui a magistro didicerit.

Rec. ii. 55.

Nisi enim quis illuc ascenderit et ibi fuerit probatus quod sit doctor idoneus et fidelis ad prædicandum Christi verbum, nisi, inquam, inde detulerit testimonium, recipiendus omnino non est ; sed neque propheta neque apostolus in hoc tempore speretur a vobis aliquis alius præter nos. Unus enim est verus propheta, cuius nos duodecim apostoli verba prædicamus.

Rec. iv. 35.

Ad hæc Aquila respondit : Quid ergo delinquent homines, si malignus transformans se in splendorem lucis maiora repromittit hominibus, quam ipse conditor Deus. Et Petrus : Puto, inquit, hoc iniustius nihil esse, et quatenus iniustum sit audi.

Rec. ii. 18.

able example is *vas electionis factus est maligno* in iii. 49: cf. ii. 55; iv. 35; and more doubtfully ii. 18, 65; iii. 13, 56, 65, 68; iv. 34.

Et tu ergo nunc, si vere aliquid tibi videris tua cogitatione perpicere, et supra coelos intueri, non dubium quin ex his ea consideres quae in terris positus vides. Aut si putas facilem menti tuae accessum esse super coelos, et considerare te posse quae illic sunt, atque immensae illius lucis scientiam capere, puto ei qui illa potest comprehendere facilius esse ut sensum suum qui illuc novit ascendere, in alicuius nostrum qui adsistimus cor et pectus inicit et dicat, quas in eo cogitationes gerat.

Rec. ii. 65.

Et tu quidem nefariis artibus agens ab exordio latere te posse credidisti, sed non lates; urgeris enim et contra spem publicaris, quia non solum ignorasti veritatem, sed nec audire voluisti ab his qui eam sciebant.

Rec. iii. 13.

Sicut enim tunc Moyse hortante regem ut crederet deo, obsistebant magi quasi ostentatione similitum signorum, et a salute incredulos prohibebant, ita et nunc cum ego exierim docere omnes gentes ut credant vero deo, Simon magus resistit eadem agens adversum me, quae et illi tunc egerunt adversum Moysen, ut si qui sunt ex gentibus qui non recto iudicio utuntur, appareant, salventur autem qui signorum rectum discrimen habuerint.

Rec. iii. 56.

Quia ergo, ut ipsi audistis, Simon egressus est aures gentilium qui ad salutem vocati sunt praevenire, necesse est et me vestigia eius insequi, ut si quid forte ab illo disputatum fuerit, corrigatur a nobis.

Rec. iii. 65.

Consideremus, fratres, quod iustum est; debemus enim auxilium aliquod ferre gentibus, quae ad salutem vocatae sunt.

Rec. iii. 68.

...festinat continuo emittere in hunc mundum pseudoprophetas et pseudoapostolos falsosque doctores, qui sub nomine quidem Christi loquerentur, daemonis autem facerent voluntatem.

Rec. iv. 34.

*The historical
character
of Simon.*

From these more or less obvious facts has been drawn the amazing inference¹ that the original Simon of the earliest form of the Clementine literature was nothing more than St Paul under another name, and that no other Simon Magus ever existed. If any one will try to consider what are the chief Pauline doctrines, and especially which of them would be most obnoxious to a Jewish Christian, and then carry them in mind when reading either Homilies or Recognitions, the more closely he studies the whole structure of the discourses, the less will he find them to be aimed at the Pauline doctrines. Inconsistent with them they will often be, but that is another matter. The writer, or rather writers, regard everything from their own point of view: but the primary enemy is nowhere St Paul. A large part of the discourses is practically positive, not negative, a setting forth of Hellenistic theory. The polemical elements are directed partly against real Simonianism, that being a form of doctrine close at hand in Samaria, partly against various forms of popular or cultivated heathenism, partly against fatalism, especially of the astrological kind. On the other hand the allusions to St Paul are merely passing skits, lying on the mere outside of the discourses, the writers thus indulging the temptation to give sly thrusts at the hated apostle of the great

¹ A short, but in most respects sufficient, refutation in Salmon's Article *Clementine Literature* in *D. C. B.* 1. 575 f.

dominant Church, by clothing Simon with one or another association properly belonging to the apostle. There is already at least one curious sign that we may hope before very long to see the true state of things generally recognised. After spending a great part of his life in denying the existence of Simon, through a long series of books and pamphlets, Hilgenfeld has in this present year (*Die ketz. Gesch. d. Urchr.* p. 164) declared himself now convinced that Simon was a true historical personage, as he had given signs of suspecting in 1878 and 1881, and that the Acts of the Apostles told the truth after all. What has chiefly convinced him is apparently the testimony of Justin Martyr, himself a Samaritan, as was also Simon, free as it is from any of the specially Clementine stories about Simon, and so manifestly not derived from them.

But to my own mind the story in the Acts is decisive, quite apart from any question of biblical authority. That any one acquainted with Simon only as a Clementine creation should have told the story in Acts viii. without any further allusion to his supposed future position than is contained in the words *εἰς γὰρ χολὴν πικρίας καὶ σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας ὁρῶ σε ὄντα* is simply incredible. Supposing it to be a fiction, its fragmentary character becomes wholly inexplicable.

Then comes Justin's account, not really weakened in authority by his very natural mistake about the image of Semo Sancus; and then come the various

writers who describe Simonian doctrine. The type of doctrine is a very peculiar one; and whatever doubt there may be how far Simon personally is responsible for it, there can be none that it was current in a sect which in the second century bore his name and was supposed to have him for its founder, all trace of acquaintance with the Clementine story being in this case likewise absent. The chief authorities for Simonianism are Irenæus, the *Syntagma* of Hippolytus through its three representatives, his longer work *Against Heresies*, Tertullian, and Epiphanius. The quotations from the ἀπόφασις or Declaration bearing Simon's name in Hippolytus *adv. Hær.* are especially interesting.

Besides these Christian accounts there is a *possible* allusion to Simon Magus in Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 7. 2), who says that Felix sent to Drusilla one, Simon by name, one of his own friends, a Jew, but by birth a Cyprian, who pretended to be a magician (Σίμων¹ ὀνόματι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων Ἰουδαῖον Κύπριον δὲ γένος, μάγον εἶναι σκηπτόμενον), to induce Drusilla, by means of promises, to forsake her husband and marry *him* (Felix). It would be conceivable that Josephus, hearing Simon Magus called a native of Gittha or Gitta, mistook the guttural, and supposed him to be called a Kithian, by which as we know from his

¹ [So codd. M, W and Lat. vers. But the Ambrosian MS. A has Ἀτομον (with Σίμωνα in marg.); this reading is found also in the 'Epitome,' and is adopted by Niese.]

language elsewhere (*Ant.* i. 6. 1; cf. ix. 14, 2), he would naturally understand either a man of Cyprus (see especially Epiph. p. 150 Β παντὶ δὲ τῷ δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι Κίτιον ἢ Κυπρίων νῆσος καλεῖται. Κίτιοι γὰρ Κύπριοι καὶ Ῥόδιοι) or a man of Citium, a town of Cyprus. But then it would be necessary to assume also a second error, or at least laxity of language, that of calling a Samaritan a Jew. On the whole it seems most likely that Josephus' mock-magician Simon is not the true Simon Magus. The name Simon was extremely common in Palestine at this time.

It is impossible now to discuss at any length the peculiar theory by which Lipsius (see especially his *Quellen d. röm. Petrussage* of 1872) has attempted to bolster up the theory of Simon's absolute non-existence: but I must just notice some of the chief data on which it rests. The conflicts of Peter and Simon in the Clementine literature are located entirely in Palestine and Syria: but this literature¹ contains allusions to another region, as we saw in passing a little time ago. In Rec. i. 13 Peter invites Clement to journey with him and listen to the word of truth which he will hold "per loca singula, usquequo ad ipsam nobis perveniendum sit urbem Romam": compare Hom. i. 16 λόγων ὧν κατὰ πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι μέλλω μέχρι Ῥώμης αὐτῆς.

At the end of Rec. i. 74 (not Hom.) Peter again

¹ See p. 100.

tells Clement that he will hear his disputes with Simon day by day until by God's favour they arrive at the city of Rome itself, "quo iter nostrum dirigendum credimus." In iii. 63 Simon's disciple tells how Simon, in suddenly departing, had asked him to accompany him, saying, "se Romam petere ibi enim in tantum placitum ut deus putetur et divinis publice donetur honoribus"; and in the next chapter (64) Peter tells the people that Simon had left behind the disciple "ipse Romam petens." In the next chapter (65) and again in 69 Peter announces that he proposes to follow the steps of Simon and "proficisci ad gentes." In 73 a letter arrives, describing how Simon was deceiving the people in different towns, but especially at Tripolis. In 74 Peter announces that he himself proposes to winter at Tripolis. Then in iv. 1 comes an itinerary from Cæsarea to Tripolis. In Hom. iii. these allusions to Rome at the end of the Cæsarean time disappear. In chapter 58 Simon flees *ὡς ἐπὶ Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης*, in chapter 73 Peter declares his intention of going to Tyre, and in iv. 1 he goes there. Tyre is one of the places which in Rec. iv. 1 are passed between Cæsarea and Tripolis; i.e. Rec. hurries over the intermediate journey. Finally in both works (Rec. x. 57 || Hom. xx. 22) Simon disappears for the last time, fleeing from Antioch by Laodicea, "Judæam petentem" (*ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ὄρμησεν*), in consequence of supposed tidings that the Emperor is pursuing and destroying

all magicians at Rome and in the provinces. On the strength of the differences mentioned it is argued that the Recognitions represent an earlier form of the story, in which the story ended at Cæsarea, and Simon fled thence straight to Rome, not to Syria, Rome and Syria being tacitly assumed to be mutually exclusive. The truth of course is that, as the first notice found equally in both works shows, Rome was throughout contemplated as the goal, but to be reached by means of a journey through various cities. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that an ancient would dream of a sail direct from Cæsarea as the natural or usual route to Rome. As a matter of course he would run up the Syrian coast, just as the centurion in charge of St Paul from the same Cæsarea did, whether the latter part of the journey were performed as far as possible by land or by a succession of coasting voyages. Thus the only difference between the two accounts, apart from the slower or faster journey from Cæsarea to Tripolis, is that *Homilies* omits after the first time the allusions to Rome as the final destination. Why Simon is brought back to Judæa does not appear: but this is common to both works.

The notice of Rome was not without a purpose. Various writers from the second century onward speak of conflicts between St Peter and Simon at Rome, ending in Simon's discomfiture and death. The story appears in various modifications. Some-

times St Paul is brought on the stage as associated with St Peter in the conflict. Whatever be the historical value of these traditions, it is certain that they were early current, and also that as far as our evidence goes, they were wholly separate from the Clementine literature, and contain no allusion to any Palestinian or Syrian conflicts of St Peter with Simon. Lipsius holds that nevertheless this complete separation is accidental, and that the Syrian and Roman conflicts are only parts of what was originally one continuous legend. For this boldest of conjectures I can see no evidence whatever. One of the most interesting documents is the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, published by Thilo and again by Tischendorf. It has doubtless undergone changes in the course of time, like all such works: but internal evidence gives no support to Lipsius' theory, that St Paul is wholly an interpolation in his present shape, and that the original Acts were of a dispute of St Peter *against* St Paul under the mask of Simon. This work *does* contain an allusion to previous Syrian conflicts, but as it is confessedly in its present form not older than the fifth century, if so old, the wonder would be if it had remained only unaffected by the Clementine story.

*The
probable
origin
of the
Clementine
Literature.*

All these impossible theories have no other real basis than the assumption that Simon is *only* St Paul in disguise. The true relations of the Syrian and Roman stories are much simpler, according to what

seems to me the most natural interpretation. Simon at Rome was familiar to the second century; of Simon in conflict with Peter in Syria, we hear nothing till the third century has well begun. If the imaginary primitive *Κηρύγματα* are discarded, there is no difficulty in supposing that the Eastern story was an artificial reflexion of the Western, fabricated not much before or after the year 200. An ingenious Helxaite we may suppose, perhaps stimulated by the example of the many Encratite *Περίοδοι*, thought that he would represent that dim conflict between St Peter and the typical heretic of the apostolic age, as having been preluded by much better reported conflicts much nearer the home of both apostle and heretic, as well as much nearer the haunts of the Helxaites. This device gave him likewise the opportunity of trying to displace the most undeniable of St Paul's titles to fame, his successful missionary labours. By the end of the second century, and indeed long before, it would have been madness for any Jewish Christian to maintain that the Gospel had not been intended by God to be conveyed to the Gentiles; but it was possible to give the credit to the apostle whom the West already believed to have striven with Simon at Rome and to have suffered martyrdom there. The tradition of Mark as the interpreter of Peter at Rome, gave a hint for the mechanism of the story. Peter could be provided with a similar interpreter for the East in the person

of that Roman Clement, who by a natural confusion was assumed to have been a companion of apostles, and who in lapse of time had come to be confused with Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian and husband of Domitilla, another cousin of Domitian, being in fact in all probability as Lightfoot¹ has suggested (*Clem.* 256—269) a member of his household and named after him. By a century after Clement's time Emperors might well be confused in Eastern Palestine, and so Tiberius takes the place of Domitian or Vespasian. In some such way as this it seems to me most probable that the Clementine literature sprang into existence.

¹ [Vol. i. p. 55, ed. 1890.]

DOCTRINE OF THE RECOGNITIONS.

THE doctrine¹ of the Recognitions stands on a different footing from that of an independent work. *Its composite character.* It is a compound of the doctrine of the *Περίοδοι* with that of the secondary editor, who can have had comparatively little sympathy with what was most characteristic in the original teaching. In the Homilies likewise there are doctrinal contradictions, but of a different nature and arising from a different cause, viz. from the imperfect harmonising of incongruous lines of speculation probably pursued simultaneously by the same mind. What the Recognitions exhibit is a toning down by a successor of a wholly different habit of mind, and also to all appearance the insertion of new language. As however both the original and the secondary author shared the standing point of Judaistic and probably Essene Christianity, a considerable common element remains, though it is often difficult to decide what belongs to this common element, and what is an accidental and imperfectly

¹ See especially Ritschl, edit. 1, 196—215 [not repeated in edit. 2], and Uhlhorn, 231—254. Schliemann unfortunately treats the Recognitions in this respect with comparative neglect.

understood survival from the earlier and more peculiar system.

The influence of the Translator.

An additional cause of uncertainty is the Latin medium through which alone the Recognitions are accessible to us. Though internal evidence bears out the assurance of Rufinus that he has in this work been unusually faithful as a translator, it is hardly possible to doubt that he has so far retouched the phraseology as to remove or modify phrases that would have been stumbling-blocks to the current orthodoxy of his time. Fortunately however for us his theological perceptions were not usually very keen where there were no catchwords to attract his attention and no clear contradictions of ordinary belief.

Starting-point of the system

The Recognitions are never tired of insisting on the need of *ordo* and *consequentia* (= ἀκολουθία) in the setting forth of doctrine. This topic is evidently connected with their habit of appealing with an amusing self-complacency to the importance of a philosophical training in order to be able to argue successfully on theological subjects. It is therefore singular that we find so little in the way of systematic exposition. One point of *ordo* is however pretty constantly put forward, and especially in one of the passages which dwell most strongly on the value of *ordo*, iii. 34 ff., viz. what ought to be first learned by a man desirous of knowing the truth. "Before all things," replies Peter (c. 37), "we must enquire what it is possible for an enquirer to find. The judgment of

Human responsibility

God must stand if a man having the power to do good did it not. Therefore men must enquire whether they have it in their power by enquiry to find what is good, and when they have found it to do it; *for it is for this that they have to be judged.* To know more than this is permitted to a prophet alone; and rightly, for what need have men to know how the world was made?" Briefly, all knowledge not of practical bearing is repudiated. The fundamental doctrine contained here is that evildoers will hereafter be punished; and this implies two preliminaries, first, the law to inform us what is good, good being the safeguard against punishment; and secondly, free will, to make it possible for us to do good and be responsible for doing it. *based on knowledge*
and Free Will

We have the same idea in another form at the beginning of Peter's discourse in ii. 20, "Peace be to you all, who are prepared to join hands with the truth; for they who obey it seem to themselves to confer some favour on God, but further they themselves obtain from Him the gift of a very high reward by walking in the paths of His righteousness. For which cause the first thing of all is to seek the righteousness of God and His kingdom; righteousness, that we may be taught how to act rightly; and kingdom, that we may know what is the appointed reward of labour and endurance; in which (kingdom) the good receive a recompense of eternal good things, but they who have acted against the will of God will *resulting in a mercantile conception of Righteousness*

receive a worthy requital of punishment according to each man's deeds." And again (c. 21), "If we spend this brief time of life in empty and useless enquiries, empty and void of good works, without doubt shall we go to God, when, as I said, there will be a judgment of our works. For everything has its own place and time. This is the place, this the time for works; the future age for rewards (*meritorum*). Lest therefore we suffer hindrance by changing the order of places and times, first let us enquire what is God's righteousness, that, like men about to take a journey, we may be laden with an abundant viaticum of good works, whereby we may attain unto the kingdom of God as unto a mighty city." The text quoted above from the Sermon on the Mount is repeatedly quoted or alluded to: but God's righteousness never, I think, seems to the writer to mean anything more than the condition of future reward and escape from punishment, and God's kingdom never to be more than a synonym for reward and punishment. This mercantile exhibition of Christianity is not uncommon in any age. It was common enough in the second century; for instance it appears in a sufficiently crude shape in Justin Martyr, though practically qualified by other language which only the Gospel could have produced. Here the rejection of St Paul's authority is naturally accompanied by complete alienation from his teaching.

This is the dark side of the view fundamentally implied in the Recognitions. Its bright side is the

yet due
to a true
zeal for
Purity.

real zeal for purity of life, and the determination not to accept any speculative doctrine which seems to make men indifferent to its necessity.

The source of the true salutary knowledge according to the Recognitions is the Law, i.e. the Mosaic Law: but what contents of the Mosaic Law are intended is not easily determined. The most explicit passage is in iv. 36, a peculiar and in its own way explicit passage enough. It enumerates the causes by which the wedding garment, explained as the grace of baptism, may be defiled. "If a man departs from God the Father and Creator of all things, accepting another Teacher beside Christ, who is the only faithful and true Prophet, and who sent us twelve apostles to preach the word, and if a man think otherwise than is fitting (*dignum*) concerning the substance of the Divinity which is above all things, these are the things which pollute¹ the garment of baptism even till death. But the things which pollute in act are these, murders, adulteries, hatreds, covetousness, evil desire². But the things which pollute the soul and body together are these, to partake of the table of demons³, i.e. to taste *immolata*⁴,

The Law defines sources of defilement.

¹ Apparently these are meant as pollutions of the *soul*.

² A curious list. The last = *ἐπιθυμία κακή* can come only from Col. iii. 5, and so probably *πλεονεξία*: also *ἐχθραί* probably from Gal. v. 20: the two first with 'pollute' from Mt. xv. 19.

³ = *μετέχειν δαιμονίων τραπέζης* 1 Cor. x. 21, so also Rec. ii. 71, a quite unique phrase.

⁴ 'Things offered to idols', doubtless from Acts xv. 29, where Gaudentius has the same, e.g. *immolatis simulacrorum*.

Baptism
replaces
Sacrifices.

or blood¹, or *morticinium*², *quod est suffocatum* (= *πνικτοῦ*, Acts xv. 20, 29), and everything else which has been offered to demons³. Let this then be to you the first grade out of three, which grade brings forth out of itself thirty commandments, but (there is) a second which brings forth sixty, a third which brings forth one hundred, as we will explain to you more fully another time (in speaking) of these matters." Here the shortness of the moral code is remarkable; and not less the *double* importance attached to the external prohibitions. The whole sacrificial system, as we have seen, is rejected (at least according to the latter part of Book i., esp. c. 39). In its place comes baptism. Apparently it is the moral elements of the Law that are really insisted on, but that only in a vague and desultory way.

Christ the
Interpreter
of the Law.

There was in fact a potent agency for adapting and reducing the Mosaic Law to later needs, that is, in reality for keeping the name of it while dispensing with its substance, in the doctrine of interpretation. Although we miss in the Recognitions the bold doctrine of Interpolations or false Pericopae which plays so considerable a part in the Homilies, as it

¹ Lev. xvii. 10—12, incl. *προσέλυτοι*; and Acts *ib.*

² = *θυσιμαίον*, Lev. xvii. 15, incl. *προσέλυτοι*.

³ In other words the *τραπέζης δαιμονίων* is taken to include the three things prohibited (excl. of *πορνεία*) in Acts, and other possible things: probably no O.T. reference, for in Lev. xvii. 7 no Greek version has *δαίμονες* or *δαιμόνια* for *elilim*, though Jerome has *dæmonibus*: Deut. xxxii. 17 not at all likely.

probably did in the *Periodi*, we find strong and definite statements that the true sense of the Law can only be learned from tradition—secret tradition (i. 27, 74; iii. 30; x. 42); and of this tradition Christ, as the True Prophet, appears as the great and infallible organ.

He is indeed called *Christus aeternus* (i. 43 f.) and *His pre-existence.* *initium omnium* (i. 45, ? ἀρχή, ? ἀπαρχή). He, who appeared to Abraham (i. 33), who (as Peter tells, i. 52) was from the beginning and always, "in each generation was always present, though in a hidden manner, to the pious, but especially to those by whom He was looked for, and to whom He frequently appeared."

Of the peculiar doctrine of the Homilies that He *Prophetic anointing.* was identical with Adam, and indeed in a manner with certain other later prophets, we have only a diluted vestige in the teaching of i. 47 that Adam, being a prophet, was of necessity anointed: compare iv. 9, where *ipse* (= *propheta verus*) is shown by Hom. viii. 10 to be Adam. These chapters (especially cc. 45—48) which expound the prophetic anointing in virtue of which Jesus was called Christ are full of interest: but the limitations are remarkable. We hear of His *Judge as well as Teacher.* future coming as judge (c. 49 and other places), but otherwise He remains simply the Prophet, the Teacher.

Of anything like an atonement there is not the *No trace of Atonement.* faintest trace. One passage is cited as dimly indicating it, but by a misunderstanding. It is said (i. 51) that through Him *mortalia mala purgari*, but the idea

is that of washing, and the reference is to baptism (see c. 48 ll. 7—11). The idea of water, it is to be observed, retains everywhere some of the prominence which it seems to have had with the Essenes; and stress is laid on frequent washings as well as on baptism (cf. vi. 11). See also the cleansing of the world ascribed to the Deluge in iv. 12.

*The Doc-
trine of
Creation.*

Two or three scattered passages remain of considerable doctrinal interest, but they tell us little. The most important perhaps is in the interesting summary of the Divine economy of history in i. 24, *ex prima voluntate iterum voluntas*. With this may be taken vi. 7 f. (though hazier than || Hom. xi. 22—24), especially 8, 'all things are born from the waters, but the water was made *per Unigenitum ex initio*, and the Almighty God is the Head of the Only Begotten (1 Co. xi. 3), through whom' &c.

*The Crea-
tion of
Man.*

So also of the creation of man, iv. c. 9 ll. 3 f., in turn illustrated by i. 45 ll. 6—9. Compare also the obscure cc. iii. 2—11, (omitted by Rufinus) on *γέννητος* and *ἀγέννητος* as applied to God.

*Baptism
and the
doctrine of
the Trin-
ity.*

Baptism with invocation of the name *trinae beatitudinis* (iii. 67) or some such phrase is mentioned several times, probably without interpolation, being derived from Mt. xxviii. On the other hand the Trinitarian language of i. 69, a suspicious chapter, cannot safely be trusted as genuine; and the sentence standing at the end of iii. 1 or iii. 11 is manifestly due to Rufinus alone.

Man is said, in accordance with Genesis, to have been created in the image *and* likeness of God (iv. 9), and to retain still the image while he has lost the likeness (v. 14 f., 23). On the other hand the story of the Fall was probably one of the rejected Pericopæ in the Periodi: at least there is no allusion to it either in the sketch of sacred history contained in i. 28 ff., or in the discourse on the growth of evil among mankind in iv. 9 ff. The latter passage has indeed (iv. c. 11 ll. 4) *deliciarum et amanitatis exclusi sunt loco*: but this comes after the description of a process of gradual decline, attributed to the ingratitude of men who supposed that the life of gods was born for them without toil and without earning, and to consequent disbelief in Providence and Virtue.

The doctrine of evil spirits or demons, though barely alluded to in Book I., is prominent in a few other places (ii. 71 f.; iv. 16 f., 26, &c.; viii. 53); but there is nothing like the elaborate theory of Hom. xix. xx.; and (as we saw in reference to the table of contents in iii. 75, the doctrine of Syzygies is somewhat cut down, though still recognisable (iii. 59—61; cf. viii. 52 f.).

I have now mentioned the chief heads of what is really a very large subject. Any notice of such points as these can give only an unsatisfactory impression of what is to be found in the discourses and discussions themselves. But to pursue it properly it would be necessary to enter much more fully into

*The Fall
of Man.*

*Evil
Spirits.*

*Conclu-
sion.*

the doctrine of the Homilies than our limits of time would possibly allow. It is impossible not to feel how much still remains to be done, after all the labours of the last forty years, for the due understanding of the Clementine literature both in itself and in relation to the other literature of the time, Christian and heathen, not to speak of the still imperfectly solved questions of criticism which have engrossed perhaps too much of our time. If we had the Recognitions alone, we should find ourselves in a somewhat tantalising position. But the Recognitions taken in conjunction with the Homilies enable us to gain some understanding of the way in which some of the most indestructible problems presented themselves to men in one very peculiar position, of whom we have little other knowledge except at secondhand. Much early Christian theology passes such questions by, or deals with them only in a perfunctory and manifestly inadequate way. These are not epithets which could rightly be applied to the speculative dreams of the Gnostics, or to the doctrinal system of Irenæus, or again to those of Clement and Origen. But we are only beginning to understand the need of studying all these as men who really were seekers for light in dark places; and the nameless authors of the Clementine literature, with all their faults, have a right to be remembered with something of the same sympathy and care.

APPENDIX.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF HOM. I—III AND REC. I—III.

[Peter's Discourses in each case are distinguished from the accompanying narrative by being printed in Clarendon type.]

A. INTRODUCTION.

HOM. I.

1—5. Clement's early thoughts.
6. Rumours of the Gospel of the kingdom.

7*a*. The preacher at Rome.

7*b*, 8*a*. His words induce Clement to set out for Judea: on the way he is carried by adverse winds to Alexandria, where he consults philosophers,

8*b*, 9*a*. who direct him to Barnabas, then at Alexandria.

9*b*—12. He listens to B.'s preaching, and pleads his cause with the multitude.

13, 14. He takes B. home, and promises to follow him to Judea. B. departs.

15, 16. Clement sails to Cæsarea, hears of Peter there, as about to argue next day with Simon, seeks him, and meets Barnabas, who introduces him: Peter invites him to journey with them from city to city to Rome.

H.

REC. I.

1—5. Clement's early thoughts.
6. Rumours of the Gospel of the kingdom.

7*a*. The preacher at Rome,

7*b*. his name being Barnabas.

7*b*—9. He listens to B.'s preaching, and pleads his cause with the multitude.

10, 11. He takes B. home, and promises to follow him to Judea. B. departs.

12, 13. Clement sails to Cæsarea, hears of Peter there, as about to argue next day with Simon, seeks him, and meets Barnabas, who introduces him. Peter invites him to journey with them from city to city to Rome.

I O

HOM. I.

17—fin. Colloquy with Peter, including (18, 19) **Short Private Instruction of Peter to Clement on the True Prophet**, and directions about sending reports of discourses to James. Peter partakes of the Eucharist, and the day closes.

REC. I.

14—19. Colloquy with Peter, including (15, 16) **Short Private Instruction of Peter to Clement on the True Prophet**, and directions about sending reports of discourses to James. Peter partakes of the Eucharist, and the day closes.

B. DISCOURSES AT CÆSAREA STRATONIS.

HOM. II.

1. Clement, while it is still night, finds Peter discoursing *περὶ θεοσεβείας* to his company of 16 (*names given*).

2, 3. **Peter instructs Clement on his practice of withholding discourse where it would be inopportune.**

4. On Cl. desiring continuous teaching on the Prophet,

5—12. **Peter discourses to Clement On the Prophet;**

13, 14. **On Immortality as required by God's Justice;**

15—16 *a.* **and On the doctrine of Syzygies,**

16 *b*—18 *a.* **and his own consequent relation to Simon.**

18 *b*. On Cl. asking about Simon,

REC. I.

Cf. ii. 1 *a.*

HOM. II.

REC. I.

19—21. Peter tells him of Justa the Syrophœnician and her buying two boys, who, brought up with S., adopted his teaching till converted by Zacchæus. P. sends for them.

22—26. Aquila describes Simon's parentage, education, doctrine, relation to J. Bapt., supplanting of Dositheus, journeys with Helena and fables about her, and magic rites.

27—31. Nicetas narrates his and his brother's relations to Simon, their expostulations and arguments with him [3 times Nic. is spoken of in 3rd pers., and in c. 32, l. 1 Aq.'s name is substituted as narrator].

32. In answer to CL, Aq. and Nic. briefly describe S.'s miracles.

33, 34. **Peter expounds the test of true Miracles to be their Beneficence.**

35a. Zacchæus at dawn announces Simon's putting off the Dispute, to-day being his Eleven-day Sabbath.

Cf. ii. 6 fin.—(J. Bapt. omitted).

Cf. ii. 13a, but by contrast.

20a. Zacchæus at dawn announces Simon's putting off the Dispute till the Eleventh of the Month, 7 days hence.

20b. Peter suggests, as fundamental and preliminary subjects of discourse for the interval, **What is First, what Immediate, what Cause of all (and other like points); if any Power above or below; if aught Better or**

HOM. II.

35*b*, 36, 37. Peter sends a message of assent, and explains it as due to **a belief in Divine Providence**, through which previous instruction will now be possible.

38—47. **Peter expounds to Clement the false Anthropomorphisms against God in the False Pericopæ in the text of Scripture;**

48—50. **specially as to His "Ignorance";**

51*f*. **and the consequent need of sifting the contents of Scripture.**

53. Night being come, P. promises further explanations at some future time.

REC. I.

Inferior; if there are Motions; if visible things have always existed and will always exist, &c.

21. Peter sends a message of assent, and explains it as due to **a belief in Divine Providence**, through which previous instruction will now be possible.

22*a*. **P. expounds to Cl. [? on 6 days] the debated Heads of the Law from the Creation to Cl.'s arrival**, and promises a fuller exposition hereafter. He proposes now [? on the 7th day] to run briefly over what he had said.

22*b*, 23. **First, on the Eternal and Endless αἰών, as ineffable**, P. praises Cl.'s silence.

Cl. praises P.'s orderly and

HOM. II.

REC. I.

consecutive exposition of what followed.

24. **Cl.** repeats **P.**'s teaching **On the Definition of Truth**; viz. **The Eternal—the First Will—Another Will—World—Time—Mankind—Election of Friends and the Peaceful Kingdom of God** (?all this being 'Creation of the World');
Next God's Decree in

presence of the angels, His Eternal Law, establishing Two Kingdoms, of Present and Future, and the Judgment and Retribution.

25, 26. Being praised by **P.** for specially clear exposition, **Cl.** attributes it to his liberal education. Expresses special pleasure in **P.**'s teaching **on Retribution, and on the True Prophet**, and asks now for the more advanced traditions of the **True Prophet**. (Distinction of simple exposition, and of that which follows different questions with arguments, &c.). **Peter** proposes to repeat briefly the **Sequence of things.**

27, 28. **Steps of the Creation.**

29—38. **Biblical History**

HOM. II.

REC. I.

till **Christ** [no allusion to Captivity, or Return, or later times].

39—42. **Coming and rejection of the True Prophet** (the Apostles and the **LXXII.**).

43. **Growth of the Church** [at Jerusalem] for a **Week of Years**.

44 *a.* **Accounts rendered by the App. to James at the Passover, and message of Calaphas.**

Digression (Peter to Clement) on the Christ.

44 *b.*—48. **The Divine Anointing (Prophet, Priest, King).**

49—51. **The Two Advents** (Jewish error consists in the rejection of the First).

52. **Presence of the Christ before His First Advent.**

53. **Jewish restlessness about the Christ.**

54. **The Jewish Sects** (Sadd., Samar., Scrib. and Phar., Jo. Bapt.).

[Resumption from 44 *a.*]

55—63. **The several Apostles argue before Calaphas.**

HOM. II.

REC. I.

phas against the several Jewish Sects.

64, 65. Anger of the priests allayed by Gamaliel.

66—69. Next day Gamaliel pleads and James expounds, going on for seven days.

70. Imminent conversion and baptism of the people arrested by 'Homo Inimicus'.

71. His mission to Damascus, while the Christians retire to Jericho;

72. where tidings sent by Zacchæus of Simon's presence at Cæsarea reach James, who at once sends Peter to encounter him, bidding him send a report every year, and especially every 7th year.

73, 74. Peter's arrival at Cæsarea.

HOM. III.

REC. II.

1. After two days, at dawn of the third, at second cockcrow, we rise for the Dispute with Simon, and find Peter on his knees,

with light still burning. He sees us wakeful and begins.

1. On the day for the Dispute with Simon, Peter awoke us at first cockcrow.

Enumeration of the 13 present (no women).

The evening light still remained. He sees us wakeful and begins.

HOM. III.

REC. II.

2. P. announces that he finds **Simon** to be **proposing to teach that the Supreme God is not Himself the Creator but sent two Gods, the Creator and the Legislator**;

3—5 *a.* and expresses fear that **S.'s quotations** may beguile Gentile though not Jewish Christians, the falsities of Scripture being for the trial of men;

5 *b*—9. and dwells on the necessity of belief in the **Monarchia**.

10—15. **Need of prophet to distinguish truths from falsities of Scripture. The Prophet and His Inborn and Eternal Spirit.**

16—28. **The main cause of error ignorance of the doctrine of Syzygy, in this case the prophetic character of Adam and the female prophecy.**

1 *b*, 2. **P. expounds the force of habit,**

3, 4 and gives reasons for desiring to know beforehand about Simon.

5—15. On which Nicetas and Aquila describe Simon's previous life.

16—18. **P. expounds to**

HOM. III.

29. On Zacchæus announcing that the people and Simon are waiting, P. goes forth.

30 *a*. He begins with a greeting of Peace, which he expounds,

30 *b*, 31. and argues about it from the Gospels.

32—37. He extols God for Creation and Providence.

38—48. Argument between S. and P. on the O.T. anthropomorphisms.

49—57. P. expounds how Jesus taught discrimination of the contents of Scripture.

Cf. Hom. xvi. and xviii.

REC. II.

Aquila the delusions caused by moral evil and the beguilements of the Evil One.

19 *a*. Nicetas briefly tells of their coming from Simon to Zacchæus.

19 *b*. On Zacchæus announcing that the people and Simon are waiting, P. goes forth.

20 *a*. He begins with a greeting of Peace, which he expounds.

20 *b*—22. The pursuit of Righteousness the first need.

23—31. S. disputes the value of Peace, and P. argues about it from the Gospels.

32—36. Argument on Christ's alleged contradictions (still on Peace).

37—46. S.'s one Unknown { Power } and Many Gods { God }
X P.'s Monarchia.

47, 48 *a*. Christ's alleged

HOM. III.

REC. II.

testimony to the Unknown God.

48*b*, 49*a*. **S. rejects Divine Sonship.**

49*b*—70*a*. **S.'s Power of Boundless Light contd. (see esp. 49, 56, 61*f*, 66, 78) X the Monarchia.**

70*b*. Simon breaks off on account of the late hour, followed by one-third (about 1000) of the people. P. performs cures and rests with the disciples, Cl. and other neophytes being apart.

71, 72. **Peter explains the need of this separation, on account of the occupation of those who have been subject to heathenism by dæmons.** He then partakes of an Eucharist and retires to rest.

REC. III.

[Second Day of Dispute.]

1. Peter, rising early, explains his difficulties as to addressing a mixed multitude: then briefly expounds the doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

2—6. **P. instructs Aq. and Cl. on the Principle and Principles,**

7—11. **and on Ingenitum (8*b*—10 μονογενής).**

12. At dawn P. goes forth to

HOM. III.

Cf. Hom. xix. xx.

REC. III.

S. and the multitude. S. interprets their favour to P. as marking him rather as the magician ;

13. and P. replies.

14, 15*a*. **Subject of the Immensity of the Eternal Light deferred.**

15*b*—17. **Evil and its origin.**

18, 19. Wrangling, e.g. about the presence of the people.

20—26. **On Free Will.**

27—29*a*. S., finding P. reverting to the fundamental question of **the True Prophet**, requires satisfaction on **the Dissolution of the First or Visible Heaven ;**

29*b*, 30*a*. and then on **Vision of God in the Future Heaven.**

30*b*. *Post haec verba multaque alia his similia* Simon asks only about **the Immortality of the Soul**, but goes out, with a few. The rest do reverence to P., who heals the sick. The crowds being gone, the *familiares* take food (Euchar.) and go to rest.

31, 32. Next day before light P. excuses their not waking (but they say they were awake) from want of habit. Proposes at nights to repeat in due order the argument irregularly brought out by the day's disputes.

HOM. III.

REC. III.

33—36. At dawn P. goes out to the crowds, and argues with S. **about necessity of Order in Learning.**

37 *a*. **Limitation of knowledge for ordinary men (not the prophet) to practical and moral use.**

37 *b*, 38. **God to be known as Just as well as Good.**

39. **Immortality and Justice.**

40—43. **Immortality, denied by S., needed for Justice.**

44. P. appeals in proof to the 'slaughtered boy' in S.'s house, and causes an apparent but brief repentance. But on his declaring that his information was not prophetic but from witnesses,

45—47. S. breaks out in anger, pronouncing himself '*Prima Virtus et Filius Dei stans in aeternum*,'

48, 49 init. till his violence and blasphemy cause his expulsion.

49, 50. P. exhorts to patient endurance of evil men, and prays for and dismisses the multitude. Food and rest.

51. P. rising at the usual hour of night finds the rest awake, and encourages Nicetas' desire to ask a question.

52. Nicetas asking **why the**

HOM. III.

REC. III.

evil Simon is permitted to do so much, is told that the preparation of friends for God needs Free Will, and consequently leads to two 'ordines' of men. This explained before more fully to Clement *De Praefinitione et Fine*.)

53, 54. **Need of Self-love, desiring the Kingdom of Heaven.**

55, 56. **For the trial of men God has appointed 10 Pairs as of Moses in relation to the Magicians, and so Peter and Simon.**

57—60. **Nicetas taught that True Signs are Beneficent.**

61. **Enumeration of the 10 Pairs.**

62. **Need of assiduity in learning Divine things.**

63. At daybreak a disciple of S. announces S.'s departure to Dora as for Rome, describing how he had been induced to carry his 'secreta' to the sea.

64. P. announces the tidings to the multitudes;

65. and declares that he proposes to ordain Zacchæus Pastor over them, stay with them three

Cf. 59.

58a. After a disputation of three days at dawn of the fourth, S. flies by night *ὥς ἐπὶ Τύρον τ. Φοινίκης*.

59. P. teaches the multitude how 'by the law of Syzygy' S. thwarts his preaching to the Gentiles;

60—62a. and declares that he proposes to ordain Zacchæus to take his place;

HOM. III.

62*b*—65. resists Zacchæus's deprecations;

66—71. gives general directions;

72. ordains Zacchæus;

(cf. cc. 66—71)

73*a*. invites to baptism;

73*b*. proposes to stay 10 days and then go on to Tyre;

[58*b*. after not many days some *τῶν προόδων* come and report that Simon is doing mischief at Tyre.]

73*c*. and after three days sends on Clement, Nicetas, and Aquila to Bernice, Justa's daughter at Tyre, and remains baptizing.

R&C. III.

months, and then go on to the Gentiles to check Simon.

66. P. ordains Zacchæus and 12 priests and four deacons, and gives general directions;

67. invites to baptism;

68—70*a*. after discoursing on baptism, sends off 12 named disciples (after four substitutions) to follow Simon;

70*b*—72*a*. comforts and instructs the people about his departure;

72*b*. and disputes and preaches every day, till on the feast day above 10,000 are baptized.

73. Receipt of a letter from the brethren in advance, describing S.'s misdoings, he being chiefly at Tripolis.

74*a*. P. reads the letter and bids the people farewell.

74*b*. During the three months P. expounded privately to Clement, and bade him commit the important matter to writing, and send it to James.

75*a*. CONTENTS OF THE TEN BOOKS.

75*b*. Departure from Cæsarea (Peter, Clement, and three others).

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